HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Huge Red Troop Build-Up

Viet Nam Nixon's Immediate Danger Point

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By PAUL SCOTT

Viet Nam and not the Middle East is the immediate danger point for President-elect Nixon.

While no major Israeli-Arab conflict is expected for several months, large-scale fighting in South Viet Nam could break out at any time.

The North Vietnamese buildup of troops in South Viet Nam and near its borders is so large that Nixon is being privately urged to prepare contingency plans for all eventualities now rather than waiting until he takes office.

In emergency briefings, U.S. intelligence authorities have warned Nixon that more than 70,000 North Vietnamese have infiltrated into South Viet Nam or been moved into their Cambodia sanctuary since President Johnson halted all bombing of North Viet Nam early in November.

The military truck traffic through Laos is so heavy that another 10,000 North Vietnamese are expected to join the Communist buildup before Nixon is sworn in as President on January 20.

This huge striking force, armed for the first time with a number of Soviet-made tanks, is now poised for a series of lightning-like attacks against U.S. military installations and major South Vietnamese cities.

For the first time since the bombing halt, Gen. Creighton Abrams, U.S. military commander in Saigon, has begun to express alarm about the size of the buildup and his troops' ability to stop a new offensive without taking staggering casualties.

"Unless the bombing is resumed immediately to slow down the huge enemy military preparation," an Abrams report states, "the North Vietnamese will have the capability of attacking U.S. positions throughout Viet Nam on several fronts at the same time. These attacks could result in the largest number of American casualties of the war."

A sharp decline in the rate of infiltration from August (25,000) to October (2,000) was the most important single reason for Gen. Abrams agreeing to go along with the end of the bombing. The rate of infiltration jumped to 30,000 in November and December.

What is disturbing Nixon are reports that President Johnson has centered his entire Viet Nam policy around the success of the stalemated Paris peace talks. Only recently Nixon learned that no contingency plans had been developed by the President should Hanoi decide to seek a military rather than political victory in South Viet Nam.

It is this lack of an alternative plan, Nixon was told, which puts U.S. military men at a great disadvantage in preparing future strategy.

For example, no decision has been made by the President at what level of increased North Vietnamese military action can U.S. bombing be resumed.

The North Vietnamese have clearly violated the tacit agreement setting up the Paris peace talks by sending thousands of construction troops into the demilitarized zone separating North and South Viet Nam.

Air-reconnaissance photographs show these troops are building bunkers and other fortifications, including concrete emplacements for 122-mm mortars, and 107-mm long-range rocket launchers.

In urging that these new targets be bombed, the U.S. military command in Saigon has been told that there are no contingency plans that will permit it under the President's bombing halt order.

★ ★ ★

The Cambodia activities of Soviet Ambassador Sergei Kudryavtsev bear watching closely by President-elect Nixon.

Since early November, Kudryavtsev has made several visits to the Cambodia-South Viet Nam border area to confer with North Vietnamese generals in charge of the 50,000 Communist troops now in that region.

Outgoing Paris negotiators Averell Harriman and Cyrus Vance, along with South Vietnamese Vice President Nguyen Cao Ky, chat with newsmen after one of the many sessions with the North Vietnamese. Despite some apparent progress in the talks, the Reds are still carrying on massive infiltration of the South.

Kudryavtsev, who supervised the installation of the Soviet missiles in Cuba in 1962, was accompanied on each trip by several other Soviet military officers.

During the November 1960–January 1961 transition period from the Eisenhower to Kennedy Administrations, Ambassador Kudryavtsev shuttled from Russia to Cuba setting up the security organization to prepare for large-scale Soviet arms shipments to Cuba.

An intelligence report of Kudryavtsev's activities was received in the State Department during the transition period, but for still unexplained reasons never was passed on to the new President.

Significance of Kudryavtsev's presence in Cambodia was first revealed by a captured Russian spy named Luri Loginov, now in prison in South Africa.

In exchange for his life, Loginov furnished South African security officials information that Kudryavtsev was one of Moscow's most trusted officials in the KGB, the Soviet's worldwide espionage agency.

Kudryavtsev's mission in Cambodia, according to Loginov, was to set up a security organization in Cambodia for the handling of Soviet weapons for the North Vietnamese forces using that country as a military sanctuary.

Since Kudryavtsev's arrival in Cambodia more than a year ago, Soviet arms shipments arriving by sea have increased by 10 times. Nearly all of these military supplies, according to U.S. intelligence reports, are being trucked directly to North Vietnamese camps near the South Viet Nam border.

Kudryavtsev, who was ordered out of Canada on charges of heading a Soviet spy ring in 1946, reports directly to Soviet Communist party Boss Leonid Breshnev, who heads the party's international section.

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Capital Briefs

● Two members of the new 91st Congress have received a quick introduction to the current situation in the Nation's Capital. Freshman Rep. **Shirley Chisholm** (D.-N.Y.), the nation's first Negro congresswoman, returned from her Brooklyn district to find her apartment had been broken into and $540 worth of clothing stolen. And our own favorite "freshman," Arizona Sen. **Barry Goldwater**, went to his hotel basement garage to drive off in his rented gold Mustang, only to find the auto had disappeared.

● Did self-styled revolutionary **Tom Hayden**, a founding member of the SDS, do any staff work for the controversial Walker Committee report on the Chicago riots? According to extremely reliable sources, on Nov. 8, 1968, a check made out to Hayden for $243 was drawn from the committee's bank account, with speculation gathering that Hayden may have received more than one check. Daniel Walker, who headed up the probe and blamed the riots largely on the police, tells Human Events he intends to examine the matter.

● Rep. Donald Fraser (D.-Minn.) has been elected as the new chairman of the militantly liberal House **Democratic Study Group** (DSG). Fraser, a home state political ally of Hubert Humphrey, has a six-year House record of championing favorite liberal causes, including opposition to the Un-American Activities Committee and appropriations for the Viet Nam war effort.

● A top federal health official termed the **federal Medicaid program** a "national disaster" last week. Dr. Erwin Witkin, chief medical consultant for the program, indicated that millions of people perfectly able to finance their medical needs were receiving the subsidized care. Before eligibility standards were lowered in New York, he said, "only Gov. Rockefeller and his wife" were above the unrealistic eligibility levels.

● Do-as-I-say-not-as-I-do department: the late Socialist **Norman Thomas**, who spent most of his adult life preaching the gospel that rich men should be separated from their wealth, has left an estate of approximately $150,000.

● Narcotics officials report that Fidel Castro is stepping up his **export of illicit drugs** to the United States. Police in Westchester County, N.Y., last week broke up a Cuban dope ring, arresting 14 persons and seizing drugs worth almost half-a-million dollars on the black market. Officials note that Castro obtains badly needed U.S. dollars through his illegal drug trade.

● The federal government is preparing to infringe on yet another facet of free enterprise: it will begin growing its own **marijuana**. The National Institute of Mental Health, charged with research into dangerous drugs, has long complained that high-grade, pure marijuana was unavailable for research, partially because of harsh federal penalties against its growth. To solve this problem, the NIMH will now grow its own—at a highly secret location. So, next time you see a reference to "a high government official. . ."

● Twelve students at **Columbia University** have filed suit in the New York Supreme Court demanding the dismissal of the university's board of trustees on grounds they failed to protect students' rights by allowing leftist demonstrators to disrupt classes last May. The students, several of them members of the Columbia Conservative Union, claimed that the hiring of pro-New Left teachers resulted in a "radicalizing" of the campus and discrimination against conservative or middle-road students; the trustees, the suit charges, have violated their contract with students by permitting the class disruption and should be removed. The university has 20 days in which to make its reply.

● On January 13 the Defense Department issued a **400-page telephone directory** which cost the U.S. taxpayers $40,000 to print. Because the phone book lists the names of Johnson Administration civilian appointees, it will become obsolete January 20 when Richard Nixon becomes President and names their successors. Then a new Defense directory will be printed, at another $40,000.

● Millionaire fellow traveler **Cyrus Eaton** has returned from a holiday in Cuba, full of advice for U.S. policymakers. "The United States," he says, "must realize that it has been wrong," call off its economic embargo of Cuba, and extend the olive branch of friendship. Castro, adds the octogenarian leftist, has accomplished economic miracles and deserves our help.

● The Supreme Court has agreed to review the Federal Communications Commission's **"equal time" provision.** This rule requires individual radio and television stations to provide equal, free air time to persons and political candidates attacked on the air or opposed in radio and TV editorials.

● When the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, along with five other national Negro leaders, met with President-elect Nixon last week, he made only one major proposal: that the new Administration and Congress recognize January 15, birth date of the late Rev. **Martin Luther King**, as a national holiday. Abernathy, King's successor at SCLC, had launched this drive earlier in the week, vowing to collect one million signatures on a petition calling for recognition of the holiday.

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The Problems on Nixon's Desk

As Richard Nixon prepared to take over the White House last week, candid observers in the Capitol were saying that LBJ had left Nixon with a mess that might even have taxed the energies of a Hercules.

LBJ's no-win war in Viet Nam was still boiling, with the Johnson Administration continuing to concede important victories to the Communists right up until LBJ's last moments in office. Part of the northern bombing was stopped in March, all of it in November and last week the Allies caved in to Red demands for an unbroken solid round table over which to do bargaining in Paris.

For the past month and a half, Saigon has held out for some dividing line, no matter how small, which would show that the two sides were grouped opposite one another. To do otherwise, Saigon argued, would imply four separate delegations and substantiate the Communist claim that the Viet Cong are an independent entity and "genuinely representative" of the North Vietnamese people. Now we have gotten the south to give in on this demand. Thus, the chances for the new Administration to achieve a sound peace have been made all the harder.

To make things more difficult for Nixon on the domestic front, LBJ has tried to spread the myth that Nixon somehow has a moral commitment to carry out the programs of the "Great Society."

As a gesture of bad will, Johnson whipped up a $195.3-billion "exiting" budget for fiscal 1970, with spectacular increases called for in such things as model cities, housing, foreign aid and the almost totally discredited anti-poverty programs. His Social Security proposals demonstrate again how his Administration tried seeding Washington with explosive souvenirs of the "Great Society."

The President stressed the substantial increases which he proposed in Social Security and Medicare benefits, but the result was to divert attention from the fact that to finance these hikes he would raise Social Security taxes by as much as 25 per cent.

LBJ would achieve this dubious goal by raising the present $7,800 taxable wage base to $9,000, and by rescheduling the next jump in the tax rate from 4.8 per cent to 5.2 per cent to take effect next January instead of in 1971. This would bring the maximum Social Security tax, applicable to those earning $9,000 or over, to $468 a year. The current maximum tax is $374.40.

In his farewell address to the nation, President Johnson also called for the maintenance of the "temporary" surtax and the continued existence of the excise taxes, such as those on automobiles and telephone service.

Racial riots, especially on the campus, were continuing as LBJ left office and the crime wave was still mounting across the nation, but particularly in the District of Columbia. Bank robberies have been occurring at the phenomenal rate of about one a day in the Nation's Capital, yet the LBJ-appointed City Council has been attempting to pass regulations which would, in effect, forbid the policemen to use firearms to apprehend criminals in a variety of situations.

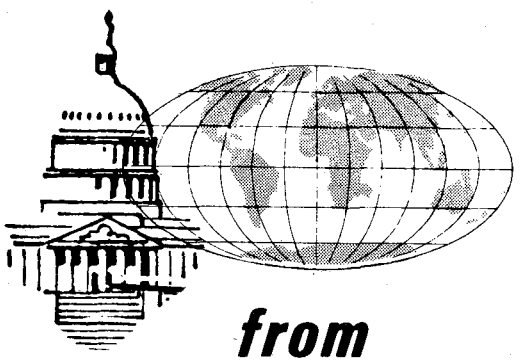
Thus, President Nixon will have much to do. But he can only achieve the goals he promised in his campaign if he takes vigorous, courageous action in a wide range of areas. In the past, both he and his advisers have rationalized the temporizing during the pre-inaugural period on the grounds that the new Administration did not yet have the levers of power. Now it does. Now, then, is the time for Mr. Nixon to justify the faith of those who voted him into office last November.

Castro's Bills for Hijackings

The Castro government is collecting a hefty profit whenever a U.S. airline is hijacked to Communist Cuba. Following each of the 13 times in 1968 when an American commercial plane was forced to Cuba, for example, the airline received an itemized bill averaging about $2,500—the amount Cuba has been charging the airlines for servicing the waylaid plane. Experts in the business say that the prices of items like gas and food are much higher than prices in this country for similar airport-related services.

The bills the airlines receive are actually signed by William R. Jochinsen, chief of the State Department's Protection and Representation Division, and call for "remittance in the form of a certified check, bank draft or money order made payable to the State Department."

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



from

Inside Washington

The fees, of course, are actually determined by the Cuban government and initially sent to the Swiss Embassy in Havana, which handles U.S. affairs. The accounting is then forwarded to the State Department, which, in turn, passes on the bills to the airlines.

Angry members of Congress are now hoping that some means will be devised to stop the hijackings which have not only inconvenienced American passengers but apparently triggered a U.S. foreign aid program for Castro.

Lodge's Appeasement on Berlin

Henry Cabot Lodge, Richard Nixon's choice to be the chief U.S. negotiator at the Paris peace talks, is the cause of some deep concern among hawkish diplomats these days. The reason: In his recent post as ambassador to West Germany, Lodge has been an advocate of appeasing the Soviet Union in a crucial aspect of the Berlin problem.

LODGE

On March 5, West Germany's federal assembly is scheduled to meet in West Berlin to elect a new president. Such meetings have been held in the divided city every five years since 1954, even in the wake of Soviet and East German war whoops that these gatherings are provocative and endanger Communist rights. The Soviets have issued similar thunderings this time, and only a few weeks ago implied to the allies that if they did nothing to prevent the meeting, the task would fall to the Soviet Union.

The official position of the United States, France and Great Britain is that the West German decision to hold the meeting in Berlin does not violate any Soviet rights and is strictly a matter for the Bonn government to decide. Unofficially, the Johnson Administration, particularly Secretary of State Dean Rusk, favored the Berlin location to firm up Allied rights in the city. Furthermore, U.S. officials believe that the retreat on a substantive matter of this nature which has 15 years of tradition behind it would be to invite increased Soviet demands in the future.

Nevertheless, Lodge has been blowing the trumpet for retreat. Authoritative sources in Washington confirm that Nixon's new Viet Nam negotiator opposed holding the election in Berlin as far back as last November and that he has repeated these views on several occasions.

Lodge is reliably reported to have expressed the view that to hold the election in Berlin would unduly antagonize the Russians at a time when tension is running high in the wake of the invasion of Czechoslovakia. Put another way, Lodge, who, incidentally, appeased the leftist Buddhists while in Saigon, has been advocating U.S. appeasement of the Soviets in the teeth of their suppression of flickering lights of freedom in Czechoslovakia.

Veteran diplomats are now wondering: If Lodge is afraid to provoke the Communists in Europe, will he also be willing to soothe the North Vietnamese as well?

Congress Opens Spending Floodgates

When the Senate last week passed the pay raise bill to double the President's salary to $200,000, it was a strong indication to some observers that the new Congress—supposedly conservatively oriented—may be just as careless as the last Congress with the taxpayers' money.

GROSS

Actually, many lawmakers—including Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa) and Sen. John J. Williams (R.-Del.)—believe that approval of the presidential pay raise is only a harbinger of hefty salary increases for government executives and congressmen themselves.

Sen. Williams, ranking Republican on the Finance Committee, asserted that raising the President's salary as the first order of business in the 91st Congress was setting a terrible precedent for a Congress which should be trying to keep the lid on inflation and uncontrolled government spending.

The $100,000 increase, he stated, is to be followed by proposals to raise by "40 to 50 per cent the salaries of the members of Congress and other top echelons of the executive and judicial branches."

Taken by themselves, said Williams, the cost of these salary hikes will not be a major factor in determining a deficit or a surplus when we are dealing with $195 billion in over-all expenditures.

"But we cannot consider these raises by themselves," he added. "If we approve a $100,000 increase in the President's salary, or doubling it, and if we as members of Congress, increase our salaries immediately thereafter by 40 per cent, then neither the legislative branch nor the executive branch can tell the 2.5-million civil service employes that they are not entitled to a 10 to 12 per cent increase. We are then dealing with a $4-billion annual increase in the cost of government, since the latter increase will automatically be carried over to the Armed Forces."

If we begin boosting all these salaries, Williams emphatically declared, "we cannot in good conscience sit down with private industry and tell them that we expect them to hold the line with a 3 to 5 per cent increase in order to control inflation, nor would it be practical to ask industry to control prices."

The Delaware solon further declared that the financial position of the federal government—despite LBJ's sweet assurances to the contrary—is definitely not under control. Based upon just a preliminary analysis, said Williams, it can be said "with no fear of contradiction or of being proved wrong later—the budget of the U.S. government will not be in balance or anywhere near in balance in June 1969, nor will the final results of 1970 show a surplus.

"We do not have a balanced budget. When all of the fancy manipulations of the budget message . . . are eliminated, we will find a projected deficit of nearly $12 billion for fiscal 1970. These projected surpluses are nothing but

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a mirage that is going to disappear when we approach that date.

"A year ago they were claiming we would have a deficit for fiscal 1968 of only $8 billion. Some of us said the deficit would be in the neighborhood of $22 billion. For this reason we said that we would have a 10 per cent tax increase. I introduced that tax increase bill which contained a second proposal to control spending. It later developed that we had a deficit last year of a little over $25 billion."

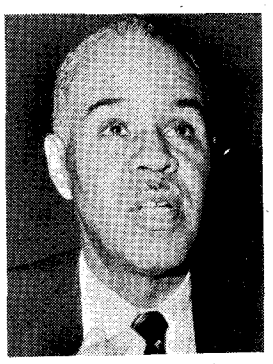
Nevertheless, Williams' oratory failed to carry the day. And the Senate's members, like the House's, refused to stand up and be counted on a rollcall vote. Thus, the 91st Congress has got off to a bad beginning.

• A number of congressmen are privately criticizing Richard Nixon and the Republican leadership in both the House and the Senate for their refusal to come out against the pay hike. If they had made some noises on the issue, note objective observers, the Congress would not have passed it. The President, moreover, is not in dire need of money. Aside from a $50,000 tax-exempt expense account, the President receives operating expenses for White House entertainment, the cost of his plane, travel expenses and so forth from a special contingency fund. Williams said he would have been willing to vote to increase the contingency fund if it were considered necessary, but no one pushing for the pay hike ever said this was the case.

• Sen. Williams' prediction that a drive would be mounted to push through additional salary hikes if the presidential pay increase was passed proved to be all too accurate. On the very day it was passed, in fact, Democrats in both the House and Senate were hoping to double the projected July 1 pay raise for federal workers. *Human Events* urges its readers to write their lawmakers and President Nixon and tell them to stop the drive for billions of dollars of government salary increases.

NAACP Roasts CBS-TV Series

Roy Wilkins, head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has once again revealed the insidiously radical slant of the television networks.



WILKINS

In a sharply worded four-and-a-half-page letter to the Columbia Broadcasting System's President, Frank Stanton, Wilkins has roasted "Black Heritage," an 18-week series produced by WCBS-TV and Columbia University in New York.

After initially commending CBS for presenting such an intensive series on Negro history, Wilkins then expressed regret that the praise could not extend beyond an acknowledgement of good intentions.

"Judging by the first two programs," said Wilkins, "and, especially by the official syllabus, the presentation is hopelessly flawed. It is quite clear that 'Black Heritage' will not be a history of Afro-Americans, but an interpretation of history from a single point of view: the contemporary left-of-center black militant minority view, liberally garnished with the thrust for a new apartheid."

Wilkins stressed that a study of the list of lecturers scheduled for the series, and the summary of the lectures to be presented, "forced us to conclude that this history, like so many that have been recorded down through the centuries, will be biased."

Wilkins directed special criticism at CBS for selecting Marxist Staughton Lynd to give two of the lectures on Negro history. Lynd, the NAACP leader caustically remarked, is less known for his advocacy of civil rights than his associations with Fidel Castro, the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese in Hanoi.

"What does Staughton Lynd know of Afro-American history?" Wilkins angrily asked. "What are his credentials. . . ?"

Not only is the program series heavily biased in favor of leftists and revolutionaries, Wilkins insisted, the law-abiding, moderate-minded NAACP isn't even mentioned in the syllabus and none of the organization's spokesmen was even permitted to take part as a panelist.

"It is impossible to produce an honest and accurate history of the Negro in the United States during the past 60 years," Wilkins emphatically reminded Stanton, "without giving major consideration to the role of the NAACP and without mentioning the contributions of the NAACP stalwarts.

"More NAACP activists have been lynched, shot, burned, deliberately assassinated, run out of town and otherwise threatened than the total of all other activists similarly treated.

"However one judges the work of the NAACP, no historian could impose this Orwellian rewrite of history. It has to be an effort, not at history but at ideological interpretation."

And what does Frank Stanton have to say about all this? His office declares he will make no comment at this time.

Wirtz' Explosive Legacy

On the eve of his departure from government, Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz handed to his successor an explosive case that could eventually compel employers to abandon a policy of non-discrimination in hiring to one of discrimination in favor of Negroes.

WIRTZ

During his final week in office, Wirtz approved a decision of a three-man federal government panel which determined that the Milwaukee-based Allen-Bradley Co. must correct its pro-white "image" and step up its recruiting of Negroes, even though the panel found no evidence of purposeful discrimination against blacks. Furthermore, it agreed that A-B was hiring Negroes and had even relaxed employment standards so that jobs were given those without a high school diploma. But the panel, in effect, said that the company must do more through active recruitment of Negroes.

Wirtz gave the firm until mid-February to work out with Labor's Office of Federal Contract Compliance an effective "affirmative action" program. If Allen-Bradley fails to meet OFCC's demands, it could lose an estimated $30 million in federal contracts. Thus the decision as to whether or not to use sanctions against A-B lies with the new labor secretary, George Shultz.

The authority used by Wirtz in the case is Executive Order 11246, a legal sledgehammer administered by the OFCC. President Johnson issued the order in 1967 without specifying what statutory authority he had.

Allen-Bradley maintains that the panel was wrong in concluding that the equal opportunity clause of Executive Order 11246 requires more than "effective nondiscrimination." The firm contends that the panel's conclusion that Allen-Bradley must "take some action designed to broaden its recruitment base" goes far beyond the intent and legal force of the order.

The key point of disagreement between Allen-Bradley and the OFCC is the government's insistence that the firm failed to use outside agencies as a source for black workers.

Allen-Bradley has a reputation of being "a good place to work" and records indicate that about 18,000 walk-in applicants come in each year for about 1,500 vacant jobs. Allen-Bradley believes that if it actively seeks more blacks it would contravene Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act because the firm would then be discriminating against whites. Recently EEOC has had complaints by whites on this score.

In an effort to prevent future debacles such as the Allen-Bradley decision, Sen. Paul Fannin (R.-Ariz.) plans shortly to introduce a measure that may rectify the situation.

Under Sen. Fannin's bill, the OFCC would be abolished, thus allowing all equal employment rights matters to be handled through the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, which operates under congressional control. The Fannin bill would also permit an employer to appeal administrative decisions to the federal courts, just as labor and management can appeal decisions handed down by the National Labor Relations Board.

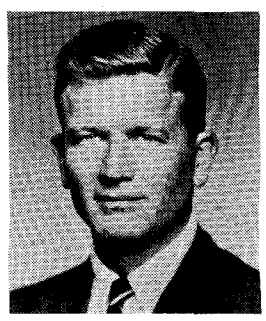
Many businessmen feel they need a measure like Fannin's because presently they are in a quandary over the federal government's imprecise terms for compliance.

For example, each firm with a federal contract is required to promise in writing that he will hire a certain percentage of black workers for each of the major job categories on his payroll. Even though the Civil Rights Act prohibits racial quotas in employment, the government tells private industry to break the law by applying a complicated and vague formula. If this formula fails to meet official approval the firm becomes subject to federal sanctions and harassment.

In fairness to business, most conservatives feel that President Nixon and Congress must find a solution to the employer's dilemma over hiring workers without breaking conflicting laws.

New York Poverty Scandals

Massive scandal in New York City's anti-poverty program has jeopardized not only the political future of Mayor John Lindsay but the very existence of the federal anti-poverty drive. Republican members of the House Education and Labor Committee suggested last week that the shocking disclosures from New York may force force President Nixon to scrap the entire poverty program.



LINDSAY

"A strong case could be made for dismantling the entire apparatus and starting all over," said a ranking committee member and the suggestion was known to be under high-level Administration consideration.

More than 100 investigators—from assorted federal agencies, at least one congressional committee, the New York district attorney's office and the city's Department of Investigations—have been looking into the Lindsay-administered poverty program for several months.

"You can't believe what we've found," an assistant D. A. said last week. "The loss to the taxpayers is a rock-bottom $8 million, and probably several times that."

Key Filibuster Vote

This is the key 53-to-45 rollcall vote by which the Senate overruled Vice President Humphrey's ruling that a simple majority could end debate on the filibuster rule, thus preserving the two-thirds vote needed for such a change:

VOTING FOR HUMPHREY: 45

DEMOCRATS (32): Anderson, Bayh, Burdick, Church, Cranston, Dodd, Eagleton, Harris, Hart, Hartke, Hughes, Jackson, Kennedy, McCarthy, McGovern, McIntyre, Metcalf, Mondale, Montoya, Moss, Muskie, Nelson, Pastore, Pell, Proxmire, Randolph, Ribicoff, Symington, Tydings, Williams (N.J.), Yarborough and Young (Ohio).

REPUBLICANS (13): Brooke, Case, Fong, Goodell, Hatfield, Javits, Mathias, Packwood, Pearson, Percy, Saxbe, Schweiker and Scott.

VOTING AGAINST HUMPHREY: 53

DEMOCRATS (23): Allen, Bible, Byrd (Va.), Byrd (W.Va.), Eastland, Ellender, Ervin, Fulbright, Gore, Gravel, Holland, Hollings, Inouye, Jordan (N.C.), Long, Mansfield, McClellan, McGee, Russell, Sparkman, Spong, Stennis and Talmadge.

REPUBLICANS (30): Aiken, Allott, Baker, Bellmon, Bennett, Boggs, Cook, Cooper, Cotton, Curtis, Dirksen, Dole, Dominick, Fannin, Goldwater, Griffin, Gurney, Hansen, Hruska, Jordan (Idaho), Miller, Mundt, Murphy, Prouty, Smith, Stevens, Thurmond, Tower, Williams (Del.) and Young (N.D.).

Paired for: Magnuson (D).

Paired against: Cannon (D).

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'New Left' Strategy

Hundreds of Draft-Dodgers Turn to Teaching

By ANTHONY T. BOUSCAREN

One of the biggest rackets going on the far left is for college graduates to get into teaching in order to evade the draft.

One such is Seymour Kramer, former student activist at the University of Wisconsin, who is now teaching in Brooklyn. "To be frank," he said, "I became a teacher just to beat the draft." (Lacey Fosburgh, "Teachers' Ranks Swollen By Men Avoiding Draft," New York *Times*, Jan. 7, 1969, p. 43.)

Mr. Kramer is one of the thousands of leftist youths who have been given draft deferments by lenient or perhaps even sympathetic draft boards in the New York City area. These draft

Some 85 per cent of the new teachers have joined the United Federation of Teachers headed by Albert Shanker (above).

boards hold that teaching is one of the "critical occupations and essential activities" which can form the basis for a year-to-year deferment.

The New York City Board of Education estimates that since February 1968 it has processed 12,000 applications for draft deferments from teachers. A report from one of the city colleges states that the number of students (overwhelmingly men) who are taking enough education courses to be eligible for a teacher's license immediately after graduation has risen from 50 in 1966 to well over 400 in 1968.

Of the thousands of participants in short-term teacher-training programs, 85 per cent are male college graduates under the age of 26, which is the last year of draft eligibility unless a youth is granted a deferment, in which case the eligibility is extended to the age of 35.

Many of these draft-dodgers formerly entered graduate school. But two years ago new Selective Service regulations ended deferments for graduate students, after a great surge in the number of graduate students indicated an unusual interest. When the new regulations took effect, there was a surge in applications for teachers' licenses; in New York City there were 20,000 more applications for the school year 1967-8 than the year previous.

"There's no question that the military situation is a major factor in these young men's decision to enter the teaching profession," declared Dr. Theodore H. Lang, deputy superintendent of schools (New York City) in charge of personnel.

Doyle Bortner, dean of the school of education at City College of New York euphemistically stated: "In this day and age, to oppose the war in Viet Nam and to want to avoid the draft, usually means you're exceptionally committed to a social service." Quaint, isn't it?

The word has got around among leftists to come to New York where the draft boards are more lenient. Many of these "teachers" who are "exceptionally committed to social service" make no bones about the fact that as soon as the draft threat is gone, they will return to careers they had originally planned in chemistry, law, architecture or business. "I can't stand teaching," said a 23-year-old teacher in a first grade class in Harlem who asked not to be identified. "I don't have the patience or tolerance to be with little children."

Gerald Peretz, of Public School 85 in the Bronx is a typical case. As a student he took part in "civil rights" demonstrations as well as in activities hostile to the U.S. collective security effort in Southeast Asia. He demonstrated at the Pentagon last year and in Chicago in August (according to the Walker report, the police, not the hippies and Yippies rioted). Peretz seems to like teaching now that he is in it, because "the fight against the Establishment is going on" in the schools.

Edward Schwarz, son of Daniel Schwarz, Sunday editor of the New York *Times*, left graduate school last year because he "was worried about the draft" and enrolled in a short teacher-training program. Now he is teaching, secure from the draft (although he subsequently received a medical deferment).

Albert Shanker, president of the United Federation of Teachers, said that 85 per cent of the new teachers belong to his union, but doubted that a man's eagerness to avoid the draft influenced his performance as a teacher.

Jonathan Cerf, 22-year-old son of Random House Editor Bennett Cerf, like so many other "teachers," admits that if it weren't for the war, he would not be in teaching.

Our fighting men in Viet Nam are no doubt delighted to learn that so many "socially conscious" and "committed" young men are going into teaching. This sort of behavior would probably not be taken so lightly in countries like Israel where the threat of aggression and subversion is more readily apparent.

And as the crisis deepens in Southeast Asia, with the Communists taking advantage of our unilateral bombing halt, the young men who don't cheat their country, together with their parents, will be wondering what Congress plans to do about this scandalous situation.

Dr. Bouscaren is a professor of political science at LeMoyne College, Syracuse, N.Y.

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Profit 'Guideposts' Absurd

By HENRY HAZLITT

If we assume that the report of President Johnson's Cabinet Committee on Price Stability advocating renewed price-and-wage "guideposts" is sincere, we can only be appalled by the economic naivete and ignorance of the officials who signed it. They include Arthur M. Okun, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, the secretary of the treasury, the secretary of commerce, the secretary of labor and the director of the budget.

They ask business and labor to exercise "voluntary restraint" in price and wage increases. Business is asked to absorb, without raising prices, up to 1 per cent of any higher costs it incurs from labor, materials or other factors. Business is also asked in setting prices to aim at a profit margin no greater than the average of 1967-68. The new wage guidepost calls for settlements in 1969 to average "a little below 5 per cent."

It is difficult even to know what some of these recommendations are supposed to mean in practical application. The meat-packing business, for example, had a profit margin on sales in 1967 of only 1 per cent and in 1966 of only .6 of 1 per cent. If the business "absorbed" a 1 per cent increase in costs, it might show no profit at all, or an actual loss. An absorption of a 1 per cent increase in costs by all firms would have a different impact on each company, depending on its previous profit margin.

Again, if a labor union is in a position to successfully demand a 10 per cent increase in wages, does the Johnson committee seriously expect the union leaders to ask for only 4 per cent because this would be a desirable "average" wage increase?

The greatest absurdity in the report is the implication that a typical business firm is in a position not only to set its own prices but even to set in advance its own profits. Yet at least 95 per cent of all firms are subject to competition, and have to set the price that the market allows. And no firm can preset its own profits. It is not through deliberate choice that the profits of rubber-processing firms increased 71 per cent in the first half of 1968 over the first half of 1967, while the profits of paper-making firms increased only 3 per cent in the same period and the profits of machinery firms fell 4 per cent. Even the biggest firms can use discretion in setting prices only within a narrow range and for comparatively short periods.

Moreover, if workers and employers did exercise "voluntary restraint," and deliberately asked less than they could get in a free market, they might be doing the nation a disservice. The demand and supply of each of thousands of different goods and services change every day. When a constant increase in the issue of money is not falsifying the result, the goods and services in most demand rise in price while those in least demand fall. This means that the profit in supplying the goods in greater demand increases while that in supplying the goods in less demand falls.

This causes more to be produced of the goods in more demand and relatively less to be produced of the goods in less demand. In this way the tens of thousands of different goods and services produced by the nation tend constantly to be produced in the changing proportions in which they are most wanted.

The Cabinet committee's report ignores the Johnson Administration's own spending, deficit and money-printing policies that are the real cause of the present inflation.

One must set the report down as a purely political statement (covering a period when none of the people who made it will be in power) designed to put the blame for any further inflation entirely on the Nixon Administration, and to prove that the departing Johnson Administration, at least, was always heart and soul for price and wage stability.

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POLICEMEN'S UNION — The nation's policemen may soon get their own AFL-CIO-affiliated nationwide union, reports labor columnist Victor Riesel. The effort, promoted by John J. Cassese, head of New York City's powerful Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, is now under serious consideration by AFL-CIO leaders and a final decision on whether or not to go ahead with the organizing may be made at the federation's Executive Council meeting in February.

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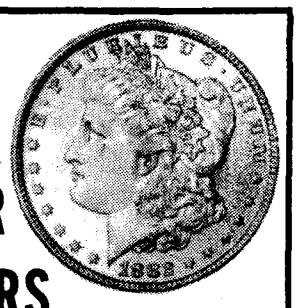

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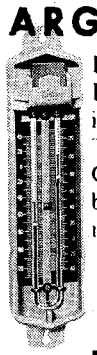

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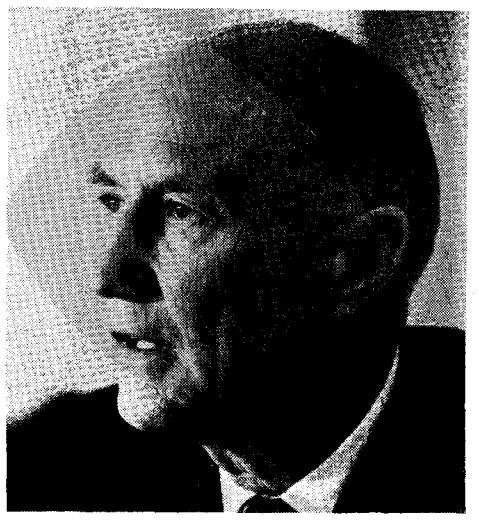

Mississippi Gov. John Bell Williams (left) and Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.) may well form a political alliance that could raise GOP hopes in the South.

Mississippi

Where a New Party Could Begin

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

Jackson, Miss.:—Richard Nixon and John Bell Williams (D.-Miss.) became friends and fellow-freshmen in the 80th Congress in 1947. Today both have reached their terminal offices with the still-intact friendship a matter of joint opportunity for the GOP and Wallaceite South.

Mr. Nixon can go no higher than the White House, but he and his party can stay there longer by catching the Southern tide as it ebbs away from George Wallace, the losing leader.

Recently a state legislator for Hinds County, Charles Mitchell, changed his affiliation from Democrat to Republican. A state senator, not yet willing to be named, may soon do likewise. These two recruits would bring to five the total of new state house Republicans since November.

These are mini-ripples in the tide, not insignificant if viewed beside other reports. A lawsuit is developing in which the Negro-liberal Mississippi Freedom party may try to take over official title to the "regular" Democratic party of Mississippi. This would throw the lily-white "regulars" further into limbo. It would give an opening to the right which might be a path into Republicanism—but only if Mr. Nixon helps make it possible.

Like Mr. Nixon, Gov. John Bell Williams, restricted to one four-year term, has gone as far as he can go in politics, barring unforeseeable events. The governor, after 21 years in Congress, has no desire to return to Washington. For 10 years or more he has been in off-and-on liaison with Mississippi Republicans who want him to switch parties.

In our interview here, Williams gave no indication that he would. But he did give indications that he might. He has both incentive and inclination.

He had become regretfully certain, said Williams, that the third-party movement, headed until last November by Wallace of Alabama, was not a political way of life that could prosper in America. He was convinced, Gov. Williams told me, that within 10 years Mississippi would be "solid Republican."

What, then, prevents the eventual shift from coming now? Philosophy argues for it, but practicality argues against it. The ideas of Republicanism are congenial in Mississippi, which voted over 87 per cent for Barry Goldwater in 1964. But the benefits of Democratic party seniority are impressive and incalculable. This much-pilloried sovereign state, with a smaller population than many Northern cities, has a kingly wealth in political ducats. Capitol Hill is its Fort Knox. The two senators, Eastland and Stennis, have 45 years of service. Mississippi's three oldest representatives, Colmer, Abernethy and Whitten, have a collective service of 90 years. The seat held for more than two decades by John Bell Williams passed like an inheritance to his one-time administrative assistant, Charles Griffin. Only one Mississippi congressman, G.V. Montgomery, is a *nouveau* in Washington. Eastland is chairman of Judiciary; Stennis is chairman of Armed Services; Colmer is chairman of House Rules. Nobody knows how much gets done for Mississippi by these astute and obliging grandees.

It would be a profligate gesture for just Democratic elders to switch parties, as Sen. Thurmond and Congressman Watson did in South Carolina. Yet there is talk about it. There is talk among Mississippi businessmen of a "gentlemen's agreement" in which the senators and congressmen would bust out of the Democratic party en masse, but retain their seniority ratings by prearrangement with the Nixonite Republicans. Furthermore, this exodus had better take place voluntarily before a mid-January meeting of the Democratic National Committee's executive body. Eminent and activist Democrats like Hubert Humphrey, Ted Kennedy, Ed Muskie and Larry O'Brien would gain much and risk little by laying down conditions of party membership which Southern conservatives could not honorably meet.

But most of the party-switching talk is futuristic. It sees the passing of the grand old men who now hold seniority, and their replacement by younger politicians now in the legislature and local governments. That is why the GOP-bound drift since November is so significant. And why the unbroken friendship between Mr. Nixon and Gov. Williams may come to something.

Intermediators are now trying to bring the President-elect and the Mississippi governor together for a conference. The unique relationship between the victorious Republicans and an ex-supporter of the Independent party does not exist elsewhere. Mr. Nixon, for example, could not very well sit down for negotiations with Gov. Maddox of Georgia or Governor-in-exile Wallace of Alabama.

One must ask—what's in it for Nixon if he should grant diplomatic recognition to a Deep South state which voted for Wallace and which has a governor who campaigned for Wallace? Well, the new President is going to need a Republican-run Congress if he's to succeed after 1970. Nowhere are there more GOP availables than in the ex-Wallace states, beginning in Mississippi.

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Radical Report on FTC

'Nader's Raiders' Use Dixon to Attack Capitalist System

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

One doesn't know whether to laugh or cry over this one.

Last June, Ralph Nader, the man whose name has become synonymous in many minds with consumer protection because of his scarifying book on the automobile industry, went to Paul Rand Dixon, the chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, with an idea for a "summer project" which would give some Yale and Harvard law school students an opportunity to see how a regulatory agency works. An ex-University of Florida football coach who had been a lawyer for Sen. Estes Kefauver's investigatory committees, which had never been easy on anyone remotely suspected of mulcting the consumer, Dixon thought favorably of the proposed project. Accordingly he let seven young men, including a great-grandson of President William Howard Taft, have the run of the Federal Trade Commission's premises for two and one-half months.

The students proceeded to interview, to browse through the files, and to peer over various shoulders—and, at the end of their stint, to do a "critique of the consumer protection record of the FTC." Their chief recommendation: get rid of Chairman Paul Rand Dixon.

Faced with the many charges made by the boys in a 186-page document, Mr. Dixon not surprisingly has reacted as if bitten by adders. Here he had tried to help the students get an education, and they had replied by accusing his staff of incompetence, lassitude, absenteeism, and even alcoholism, not to mention their allegation that he himself had "degraded and ossified" the FTC by cronyism and by a weakness for hiring lawyers with degrees from institutions other than Yale, Harvard and Pennsylvania.

Mr. Dixon's sense of outrage at the conduct of the young group that has become known as "Nader's Raiders" is quite understandable. Since I have never investigated the workings of the FTC myself, I am hardly the one to pass on the charges made by the students.

Their document, however, is a singular one on its face, if only because it assumes in its opening pages on "the crisis" that the capitalist system is close to being totally depraved. The students begin by accusing the American business system of such sins as maintaining "intra-corporate tyranny over executives, price leadership, oligopoly or shared monopolies, conglomerate empires, tacit agreements precluding challenge to mutual vested interests, corporate domination of regulatory agencies, product fixing, manipulation of credit, and other subtle forms of coercion which block new competitors and new ideas."

The boys go on to speak of the "disadvantages of mouthwashes (which many dentists say irritate the mucous membranes of the mouth), detergents (most of which now add particles to your clothes rather than remove them, many of which can irritate the skin), cars of all types, drugs of almost every variety, deodorants (which now clog pores . . .), diet soft drinks (some of which can harm internal organs), and so on."

Then, having posited their case against the capitalist system, the boys proceed to condemn the 1,200 employes of the Federal Trade Commission for not stopping all these practices at once. They even condemn the FTC for not doing anything about advertisers who "sell sex and power in relation to various phallic symbols, undulating women and potent wild animals." In other words, the FTC ought to prosecute Esso for saying "there's a tiger in your tank," an obviously misleading statement if you think the use of metaphor constitutes a lie. Query: how humorless can you get?

After reading all this, I can sympathize with the embattled chairman of the FTC. Like him, I wonder how the students, with two and one-half months at their disposal, managed to find out all those things about deodorants, mouthwashes, detergents, automobiles, drugs, oligopolies, intra-corporate tyranny over executives, and so on.

Of course, the students didn't spend a snitch of their time investigating the sins of the capitalist system in relation to the failure of the FTC to prosecute. They assumed the villainies at the outset, and then, because the 1,200 employes of the FTC didn't seem to be investigating all these alleged iniquities at once, they proceeded to accuse Paul Rand Dixon of "incompetence."

FTC Chairman Paul Rand Dixon (above) has come under heavy fire from anti-business Eastern law students who were given carte blanche to study the FTC's workings.

Really now! Is that the way the Yale and Harvard law schools teach young men to conduct an investigation?

Mr. Dixon, a veteran of the Kefauver investigations into consumer practices, can hardly be called anti-consumer. He was a Kennedy appointee at the FTC, with a renewal under Lyndon Johnson, and he believes that capitalists must submit to regulation if only to save them from themselves. Yet his philosophy stipulates that the "American system isn't supposed to produce more laws than is necessary." "You can't enforce a law," he says, "that the people don't want enforced."

This attitude, when translated into the world of a regulatory agency, results in such things as "advisory opinions," "consent decrees," promises to "cease and desist," "voluntary compliance" and other things which the Nader-recruited law school students regard as horrifying softness.

Their report makes it obvious that they want a Federal Trade Commission that would "multiply its staff and budget many times over," engaging in positive detective work by employing engineers, chemists and other experts capable of looking into such things as the workings of household appliances, the strength of construction materials, the performance of cars.

In short: a "Big Brother Is Watching You" approach which Mr. Dixon, who thinks most businessmen can be trusted to behave decently if you tell them the rules, finds personally obnoxious and which Congress has always refused to sanction with supporting funds.

The difference in viewpoint between "Nader's Raiders" and Chairman Dixon is clearly apparent in their respective uses of rhetoric. The young critics want "criminal sanctions" applied to "dishonest corporate behavior." Mr. Dixon would agree provided that criminality is involved, but he finds it disturbing when his young critics go on to say that the "dishonesty" of corporations "is far more dangerous in contemporary America than all the depredations of street crime." Such language, he thinks, betrays the "extreme anti-business bias" of the "young zealots," for what they are saying is that corporation executives "are engaged in much more reprehensible conduct than rapists, robbers, muggers, and so on."

Chairman Dixon finds it hard to believe that his young critics can actually equate the crime of raping a woman in a dark alley with the "tyranny" involved in "exploiting" a housewife "by games, gimmicks and deception." Yet in the "young zealots'" equation, the commercial use of "gimmicks" becomes actually more reprehensible than a mugging.

There will never be any reconciliation between the Nader and Dixon points of view. But as between the "Big Brother Is Watching You" approach advocated by the law school students and the "give 'em a chance to comply" philosophy of the regulatory agencies, Congress, which represents a blend of producer and consumer interests, has always preferred to stop considerably short of George Orwell's 1984.

The gimlet-eyed gumshoeing advocated by the students for policing detergent and mouthwash sales would not only cost billions, it would also result in a far less productive business system, which wouldn't help the consumer at all.

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Behind the Protests at San Francisco State

By ROBERT BAILEY

California's Gov. Ronald Reagan recently said, "I think we have finally found our man!" He was talking about the tough little new acting president of San Francisco State College's beleaguered campus, Dr. S.I. Hayakawa, a member of the faculty and an internationally famous semanticist.

Politically liberal, Dr. Hayakawa, since taking over the college in November, has daily been setting precedents in dealing with rampaging radical black and white students intent on closing the huge campus. Suspending radical students and professors, employing blitzkreig police units to break up illegal rallies and gang attacks on other students and property, Dr. Hayakawa is the campus man of the hour.

Hayakawa appears to be the first college chief to have had the courage to face up to the realities of what campus saboteurs are trying to do and it is apparent his forceful method is giving courage to other campus administrators across the country. "I want to make it clear to everyone that I will break up this reign of terror," Dr. Hayakawa said after a bitter and bloody clash between striking students and the police. "This campus has been disrupted so damn long it is time things got back to normal," he has declared.

The San Francisco State campus has been in a constant state of upheaval since the militant Black Students Union called a general campus strike November 6 following the firing of Black Panther leader George Murray, who had been teaching English and had advised students to bring guns on campus to enforce their demands.

The strike has been supported and joined by SF State's chapter of Students for a Democratic Society, which is strongly represented by members of the Maoist Progressive Labor party and the Third World Liberation Front, a non-caucasian revolutionary group which appears to have sprung up from the Tri-Continental Conference held in Havana.

The militant strikers' 15 demands, which they insist are non-negotiable, include reinstatement of Panther instructor Murray, an autonomous Black Studies Department, admission of any non-white student regardless of educational background, and amnesty for those arrested.

Ironically, the issue of a Black Student Department is a false one. In 1967 a Black Studies program was started at SF State with a total of 11 classes for which 33 units of college credit were given. The program included such courses as "Education: The Miseducation of the Negro"; "Sociology: The Sociology of Black Oppression," and others dealing with black psychology, black anthropology, black dramatic arts, etc.

The special coordinator of the Black Studies program has been Prof. Nathan Hare, who was fired from Howard University for what the *Negro Digest* called "his militant pro-black activities." The man who was president of the college at the time defended the appointment of Hare because the college had to move quickly "if we are going to keep the lid on this place."

In a recent speech at Stanford University, Hare, the man who had been chosen to "keep the lid on the place," told his audience: ". . .They say we are too few to fight. We should vote. But I can kill 20 [white] men. I can cut one's throat, shoot another, drop a hand grenade in the middle of a whole bunch. I get only a single vote, and that's the lesser of two evils."

Speaking of black historians, Hare said, "Black people must declare void what the white slave masters have written and must begin to write their own history and direct their destiny." And about the draft he stated, "I was asked if I am an American first or a Negro first. I said I'm a black man first and not an American at all. . . .I couldn't fight for them [Americans], and if I did I would shoot as much as possible at the whites around me."

San Francisco State College President S. I. Hayakawa and California Gov. Ronald Reagan discussed the campus turmoil at a meeting last week. At about that time, a homemade bomb was discovered by authorities only 30 feet from Dr. Hayakawa's office.

To understand better the real issue behind the assault against San Francisco State College one must look at this so-called "student revolt" in terms of its real objective.

As perceived by the black militant leaders on campus, both student and faculty, and the persistent efforts by major black leaders in the city of San Francisco, the campus has become a central battleground for what they popularly call "bringing about social change."

The massive effort to dramatize the Black Studies program and legitimate its every facet, the pressures to force increased, but non-existent, appropriations into its machinery, and the demand that it be given stature disproportionate to its relationship to the campus in general are specifically designed to make this department an organizational tool and recruitment facility for the black militants to institutionalize the black movement in the Bay Area and provide an "academic" base for their "community action."

In the Fall 1968 issue of *The Public Interest*, published by National Affairs, Inc., some of this concept is described and attributed to Dr. Nathan Hare. The article states:

"Central to Hare's whole proposal for a Department of Black Studies is the component of community involvement. To bring about this development it is necessary "to inspire and sustain a sense of collective destiny as a people and a consciousness of the value of education in a technological society. . . . Students and other interested parties 'will be organized into Black Cultural Councils which will sponsor cultural affairs in the Black community and establish Black holidays, festivities and celebrations.'

"For example, a Black Winter Break could begin on February 21, the day they shot Malcolm X, run past George Washington's birthday and end with February 23, the birthday of the late Black Scholar, W.E.B. DuBois. 'This,' Hare says, 'could approximate the Jewish Yom Kippur.'

"There are many other suggestions: Black Information Centers 'to increase communication, interpersonal contact, knowledge and socio-political awareness' a Black Community Press, put together by 'members of Black Current Events clubs and students taking courses in Black journalism'; a Bureau of Black Education 'to provide Black scholars mutual aid and stimulation, and to organize Black textbook and syllabi writing corps.'"

Dr. Hayakawa is not opposing the demands for black educational programs, but it is highly doubtful if he concurs with the plans which Dr. Hare advocates for his department, for Hayakawa is clearly dedicated to the policy that any of these reforms be examined and produced in an orderly and lawful manner. Whether this is possible or not remains to be seen.

This gutsy and articulate Japanese scholar seems highly equipped to describe with exactness the very essence of the current state of our so-called "sick society." He has said that white liberals "in their hunger for humiliation, will take as revealed truth anything an angry black man says," and explains this as the collective guilt feelings about U.S. persecution of Negroes. Hayakawa claims there are approximately only 50 revolutionaries among the schools' 800 Negro students, but hundreds of "misguided white liberals." Law enforcement officers, however, put the number of strike leaders at between 200 and 300.

One question asked by angry state legislators is just how it is possible for the Black Students Union, since its inception in 1966, to have emerged as the most militant and apparently well-financed organization on the campus, in spite of its numerical insignificance. The answer is undoubtedly applicable to other campuses faced with similar unprecedented demands by organized militant blacks.

At SF State, as at most colleges today, the student government is dominated by a liberal-radical coalition of elected officers, who are in office only because the great majority of students don't bother to participate in student elections. The Associated Students at SF State work on an annual budget of over $400,000 derived from involuntary fees collected from each student and some bookstore profits. The student government in turn has channeled large sums into such radical projects as its Experimental College, the Black Student Union, and the Third World Liberation Front, the latter two having had $37,000 appropriated to them for this year's "activities."

Student government finances at SF State are so suspiciously connected to campus disorder that the state attorney general's office has been conducting an investigation and audit of the budget since last July.

Among budget "discrepancies" they have uncovered a student government check endorsed by an off-campus leader of BSU which was used to help buy a $236 semi-automatic rifle. Another financial maneuver which has come to light is a student government check paid to the militant Rev. Cecil Williams, pastor of SF's controversial Glide Memorial Church and one of the community black leaders who have been in the vanguard of agitation on the campus. The check, a $400 honorarium for a lecture, was allegedly endorsed by Rev. Williams and turned over to BSU.

Guns and radical politics are the subjects of another episode investigated by state officers, who are checking the purchase of more than 100 guns from a Nevada weapons supplier by black militants. According to the local press, one of those persons believed to be involved is a BSU strike leader at SF State.

Sex, guerrilla warfare and how to destroy the Establishment are all topics which have been taught by student-initiated experimental courses under the guise of academic inquiry. Although sparsely attended, these courses were given at the expense of the entire student body, whose fees foot the bill.

As far back as August 1967, worried members of SF State's student government were complaining that "each and every student at SF State College is being forced, indirectly, to support the violently militant Black Panther party."

In an exercise of student autonomy the Associated Students brought LeRoi Jones, black militant and four-letter-word playwright, to San Francisco State College as a "visiting professor" and paid him $1,600 out of student funds. He headed a $4,422 Black Communications Project, again funded by students, which was to produce "black arts" plays and a film.

The student charge of being forced to support the Panthers grew out of Jones' appearance, along with then-BSU leader Jimmy Garrett and Stokely Carmichael, at a rally held in San Francisco's Fillmore Auditorium to raise bail money for jailed Panthers.

Garrett, who dominated BSU at that time at SF State, gave the press some of his impressions of education: "You talk about necessity; you talk about how to put that together, how to tighten it up and forge a sword to cut the enemy's throat, that's what you talk about. And to me that's education."

(Continued on page 13)

Robert Bailey is the pen name of a West Coast expert on internal security matters who has been a frequent contributor to these pages.

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The Demise of the 'Saturday Evening Post'

A chief of the 'Post's' editorial page for 20 years thinks the magazine got in trouble by forgetting about average Americans.

By FREDERIC NELSON

The demise of the *Saturday Evening Post* gave a variety of pundits an opportunity to issue death certificates in harmony with their personal ideologies.

Probably the most frequent diagnosis was that the *Post* "failed to advance with the changing times." Huntley—unless it was Brinkley—decreed that the magazine went down because its editors and management were equipped with "unrelenting 19th Century minds." Presumably the idea was that the *Post* was too conservative in its economic views to please its readers.

Unfortunate for this theory are the facts, with which liberal commentators choose not to be confused.

One fact is that the *Post* had at least six million subscribers and newsstand buyers before the new management's computers decided to cut them in half. Another fact is that the real slide in the *Post*'s fortunes began *after* the *Post* had relented from its supposed 19th Century stuffiness and decided to get with it—in physical appearance, subject matter and editorial attitudes.

'Times' Obituary

In its obituary notice the New York *Times* suggested that the trouble was that the "word never got around to the public that the *Post* was no longer mired in the illusions of the past, and advertisers apparently believed that the magazine's audience was the same that had read it 30 years earlier. . . . The public never changed its view of the *Post* and never understood how new and vital it had become."

If it were true that people had stopped buying the *Post*, it could be argued with equal, and I should say more, plausibility that the section of the public traditionally attracted to the *Post* knew to its sorrow how "new and vital" their favorite magazine had become and wanted no part of it.

Also, it could be said that conservatives failed to note some good articles in the recent *Post*, one being a surprisingly realistic piece by Super-Liberal Irving Howe, editor of *Dissent*, who declared that to allow Negro polemists to get away with the most absurd statements without refutation was "condescension." Mr. Howe had in mind "white liberals and radicals who know that the rhetoric of the more extremist black groups is dangerous nonsense and yet remain silent . . . because they feel that Negroes 'have to go through that stage.' In effect this attitude is a more sophisticated but hardly more admirable version of the old cracker condescension: 'What can you expect from them niggers?' " That article might have worried the *Post* staff even in my day!

I had charge of the *Post*'s editorial page for 20 years (1942 to 1962), but the Lord knows I am not an expert in magazine management or an authority on what people will read. When the first number of *Hair-Do* appeared on the stands, I couldn't imagine what they could find to put in the next one.

However, even an editorial hand in Brain Alley can hazard a snap diagnosis. It would be stupid to assign this disaster to any one cause: too liberal, too conservative, television, stodgy makeup, too much sex, not enough sex, etc. After all, other good magazines have folded: *Collier's, Scribner's, The Reporter, Woman's Home Companion, American.* It's a complicated and highly competitive business, and the losers can count on plenty of Monday-morning quarterbacking when the game is over.

First off, I do think the non-Curtis publisher who back in 1962 opined that "Curtis made the mistake of tailoring the magazine to Madison Avenue consumption" had something.

The advertising agency business subsists on cliches like "too few younger readers," "lack of interest to women," "dull presentation." As applied to the *Post*, these cliches overlooked the fact that the *Post* had long enjoyed an almost unique market—you could call it a monopoly—of middle-class, middle-income, more or less middle-aged, more or less Middle-Western people who buy a lot of gadgets and do a lot of reading.

Nor were younger readers totally lacking from *Post* readership, unless it is conceded that people under 30 read about nothing except sex, dissent and revolution. Anyway, as it comes to all men, younger readers tend to become older readers. Most of this, the *Post* management after 1962 failed to recognize and so plunged, albeit half-heartedly, into the desperately competitive rat race to give younger and presumably more progressive readers what admen think younger readers and progressive people want.

The *Post* was in crisis in the late 1940s although, typically of *Post* crises, its circulation was at an all-time high. Adverse opinion by Madison Avenue, combined with a boycott by Jewish organizations which complained of an article misleadingly entitled "The Case Against the Jews," and perhaps with an extra-cantankerous editorial opposition to American involvement in Europe, brought about the firing of *Post* Editor Wesley Stout and the appointment of Ben Hibbs as his successor.

Of course the advertising boys were right in there calling the plays, but this time the management decided to call the plays itself. As Vermont C. Royster put it in the *Wall Street Journal* (Nov. 19, 1965), "the company followed old Cyrus Curtis' dictum, find the right man and leave him alone.' The man they found, Ben Hibbs, revolutionized the *Post* as it was done in 1960, but he did it slowly, gradually, without panic."

Ben took some chances, like hiring me, but I have long believed that his dramatic success in pulling the *Post* out of its morass was due to his undramatic belief that, if the product was good, the people would buy it without benefit of Madison Avenue's surveys, research in depth and the rest of it.

Instead of being panicked, as the *Post* was in 1961 *et seq.*, into making violently revolutionally changes, and thus outraging the magazine's loyal readers, he made what seemed to be necessary typographical improvements, and some shift in the editorial mix, so unobtrusively that the inevitable beefs from indignant subscribers were kept to a minimum—although as one who had to reply to irate letters, I didn't think the minimum very minimal then.

When Ben took over, the Jewish protests were at their height, Curtis common stock was quoted at around 7/8 and the *Post*'s newsstand price had been doubled—from a nickel to a dime! There was also the isolationist image which had to be retouched.

Ben Hibbs overcame all these hazards not, as 20 years later, by announcing that everything was going to be new and better, but by making it as new and different as necessary, without saying anything about it.

If the Garet Garrett editorials' "reactionary" tone was diagnosed as a hindrance, survey and research people would probably dictate that the page had to go 100 per cent liberal. The *Post* did get itself behind the war effort, mostly let the New Deal be wrong without too much sneering, and printed a few pretty progressive articles.

'Post's' Past Stands

However, during my two decades on the editorial page, the *Post* plumped for "right-to-work" laws; favored limitation of the Supreme Court's jurisdiction; took a dim view of the military invasion of Little Rock; urged a more realistic attitude on foreign aid; took evasive action away from internal pressure for a snow job on Joe McCarthy; defended the Senate's Rule 22 on "filibusters" as a brake on ill-considered legislation; frequently opposed recognition of Red China; published an editorial by a retired Naval officer questioning the wisdom of unconditionally giving the USSR advance notice that it could fire the first nuclear shot; took a cynical view of educationist yelps for federal control of schools; went along with the verdict against atomic scientist J. Robert Oppenheimer as a security risk; and went to bat for the free enterprise system dozens of times.

In its other pages the *Post* printed the bulk of Whittaker Chambers' *Witness* despite some grumbling within the organization, and an article by Alva Johnston entitled "Jimmy's Got It," which was an account of how James Roosevelt's insurance and other activities were promoted through his contacts with FDR in the White House.

If there was significant opposition from supposedly dissatisfied young people, women and liberals to these "19th Century" pieces, they didn't prevent the Hibbs *Post* from reaching all-time highs in circulation, advertising revenue and acceptance generally.

Of course we had differences of opinion. In 1952, for example, I was for Sen. Taft, feeling that Eisenhower's political creed was too vague and nebulous to make him a solid GOP candidate. However, Ben was emphatically for Ike, and I have always credited his full-page editorial, "The Country Needs Eisenhower," which hit the newsstands just as the Republican delegates were assembling in Chicago, with an important part in the Eisenhower nomination.

Emotions in the office, as everywhere else, ran high, but when the decision was made Ben came to my room and said that, if I felt too cast down by what had happened, he would write the political editorials himself. I hope he knew that I wasn't that much of a die-hard, but the episode was typical of Ben's generosity to his staff—including some of us who must have given him a hard time or two.

At the beginning of the Sizzling Sixties—about the time Ben and I were scheduled to retire—things began getting rough again. The book was still strong in circulation, but Madison Avenue was up to its old tricks, worrying itself and the Curtis management about whether the readership was young, alert and forward-looking enough.

Of course advertisers are justified in asking themselves how many of a magazine's millions of readers can be expected to be interested in Cadillacs, compacts or mutual funds. But to assume that five million people, give a million up or a million down, are buying a magazine which they don't like looks rather absurd to me. However, this time the management decided to appease Madison Avenue to a fare-you-well.

The *Post* came up with a startling new make-up replete with dizzying typographical tricks and format fantasies in living color. To make matters worse, the new editor announced in an interview that the *Post* would no longer be tied to the GOP. Ben is a Republican, although he speaks to Democrats, and my Washington contacts included more Democrats than Republicans: Frank Lausche, Harry Byrd, John McClellan, Tom Dodd, Dick Russell. Agreed, these were not exactly liberal Democrats, but I often conferred with some of those too.

Bearings Confused

As it turned out, these changes were too much even for Madison Avenue and in a few months the *Post* had still another editor who was supposed to retreat from the recently achieved minidress to something more moderate. However, it never seemed clear to anybody just where the magazine was headed, and it soon fell into the hands of a series of operators whose intra-office disputes, firings, lawsuits and eventual flop seem to me to nail down the questionable wisdom of including on boards of directors promotors with little experience in the business which they are supposed to be directing, and Wall Street financiers more intent on instant dividends or profits than patient and persistent production of a good magazine.

When trouble arises such people tend to hire miracle men from TV or other unrelated "disciplines" who are supposed to get things moving again. The urge hits the editorial staff which in desperation breaks all the rules to provide exciting material.

Readers regardless of their political stance must have been bewildered by an article accusing two football coaches of "fixing" a big game—a charge which, even if true, could not have been proved in a court of law. That one cost the *Post* nearly a half-million dollars in libel verdicts. The "old *Post*'s" copy desk would not have let that one get by and I suspect the new *Post*'s checkers must have been pressured to OK the article.

Nor would any but the most obscurantist liberal take satisfaction in the *Post*'s 1964 assault on Barry Goldwater as "a wild man, a stray, an unprincipled and ruthless jujitsu artist like Joe McCarthy." Such hysteria could only dismay traditional *Post* readers without doing anything to win the confidence of new groups which the magazine was supposed to be wooing.

Well, the *Saturday Evening Post*, which so long mirrored the attitudes and satisfied the cultural urge of average Americans, is no more. For my part I believe it could have survived if, some eight years back, it had refused to listen to pollsters and opinion testers who apparently believe that the average American has become an obsolete historical curiosity.

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Pueblo Boners Not Bucher's—Data Points Higher Up

From the Allen-Goldsmith Report

The Navy can expect lots more criticism as a result of North Korea's seizure of the *USS Pueblo*, but few of the brickbats will be tossed at Cmdr. Lloyd Bucher and his 81-man crew.

That is the present reading at the Capitol, where new information on the seizure is being circulated now that members of the crew are telling their stories to Navy authorities.

Data now available on the incident suggests that there were a number of

There may be some questions about Cmdr. Lloyd Bucher's actions, but available evidence seems to blame the Pueblo seizure on his Navy superiors.

errors of omission or commission. Generally speaking, however, they do not appear to have been made on board the beleagured ship but further up the Navy chain of command.

To use an overworked Pentagon word, it appears no Navy "scenario" ever accurately envisioned a determined attempt to seize one of the lightly armed electronic spy ships which cruise close to unfriendly shores. To a considerable degree, Bucher and his crew seem to have been the victims of mistakes made by others.

One qualification must be made in that appraisal, however. No assessment has yet been made of the statements and "confessions" made by some *Pueblo* crew members and the circumstances under which they were extracted. That will be a central topic in the forthcoming Navy court of inquiry.

For the present, these comments can be made:

• **Orders**—Bucher's basic orders, drafted by his Navy superiors, were ambiguous. It is clear that the *Pueblo skipper* was *not* ordered to scuttle his ship rather than let it fall into Communist hands.

Bucher *was* under orders, however, to take all possible steps to prevent capture by the Communists of the *Pueblo*'s secret electronic equipment. He had to resolve this conflict on short notice under the heaviest of pressures.

In resolving it, Bucher may have read a hint of non-belligerence in the portion of his orders directing that the ship's .50-caliber machine guns be kept covered. Navy authorities insist, however, that this proviso was designed to make the *Pueblo* a service vessel and not a warship in its day-to-day cruising.

• **Instructions**—Once the North Korean patrol craft began to harass the *Pueblo*, Bucher's radio reports to shore headquarters brought him no useful instructions. Informants who have studied the radio exchanges say Bucher got no help.

In contrast, according to these informants, the senior North Korean officer was being prodded, in radio exchanges, to get on with the boarding and seizure of the *Pueblo*.

"Everyone was in the act," says one knowledgeable source, "but there was no one who could make a decision, right on up to the Pentagon and the White House. I don't know what would have happened if it had been missiles fired at the United States."

• **Cover**—The response which could have helped Bucher would have been the arrival of U.S. fighter planes, but none were then stationed at bases in South Korea and none had been assigned to cover the *Pueblo*'s mission. The Communists had air superiority unless and until U.S. planes could be shuttled from Japan. When the time came, that could not be done.

• **Equipment**—Contrary to some published reports, efforts were made to destroy some of the ship's sophisticated radar and electronic gear with explosive devices. These efforts were unsuccessful, however, and *Pueblo* crewmen then tried to do the job with axes.

There was not time to complete that sort of job, and it is now clear that secret materials were seized for analysis by Russian experts.

Navy spokesmen will face intensive questioning on these points in about a month. That is when House and Senate Armed Services Committees will begin their annual hearings on U.S. military posture.

One participant in the forthcoming hearings, Sen. Richard B. Russell (D.-Ga.), has already staked out some lines of questioning for Navy witnesses. In the first place, Russell believes the Pueblo should have been scuttled.

The Navy is now reported to be studying a plan under which the crew could prepare to abandon such a ship, from a protected main deck area, while a large explosive charge was detonated below the water line.

Russell also believes air cover should be provided for missions such as the *Pueblo*'s. He has said the Navy should use a more sophisticated selection process in choosing commanding officers for its spy ships.

The latter statement by Russell has been interpreted as a rap at Bucher. The senator explains, however, that he thinks the Navy should carefully assign to such sensitive missions the officers who are best qualified and trained to conduct them and to risk a sudden confrontation with the Communists.

Note: Available information still indicates that the *Pueblo* did *not* penetrate the territorial waters as claimed by North Korea.

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A special Senate panel is proposing that men who flee from U.S. military service to asylum abroad be subject, on return, to punishment as deserters.

That is the legislative recommendation of an Armed Services subcommittee which has been studying Pentagon policies with respect to deserters. Chairman of the subcommittee is Sen. Daniel K. Inouye (D.-Hawaii), an Army veteran who lost an arm in World War II.

During the Viet Nam war refugees from military service have taken up residence in nations of Europe as well as in Canada and Mexico. More than 150 have been granted asylum in Sweden alone.

The subcommittee's recommendation is that a serviceman who seeks asylum or a residence permit outside the United States be classified as a deserter and subject to penalties as such when and if he returns to the United States.

In public and closed hearings, the subcommittee was advised that about half of the servicemen who take up a foreign residence do eventually return to the United States. Their penalties have varied.

In some cases such returned expatriates have claimed that their voluntary return to the United States shows they had not deserted, in any permanent sense, under present laws. Some courts have accepted that rationale.

The Inouye subcommittee's proposal, as drafted for final membership approval, would bar such a defense. A serviceman who applies for, or receives, asylum or a residence permit would be punishable as a deserter.

Present Viet Nam war penalties for desertion have been running to a couple of years imprisonment without pay, usually with a dishonorable discharge, but there has been a wide disparity in punishments. With the United States not technically at war, penalties under the law can be as severe as five years imprisonment without pay and a dishonorable discharge.

It was the uneven treatment of returned deserters which prompted then Armed Services Chairman Richard B. Russell (D.-Ga.), to order the subcommittee's inquiry last spring. Draft evasion and refusal to serve in the armed services were not a part of the subcommittee's inquiry.

The subcommittee did broaden its scope, however, when it began taking testimony from the services about deserters and others in extended absent-without-leave categories. Service spokesmen finally disclosed that there was no coordinated reporting of such absences and no way for top commanders to know just how many fighting men might be AWOL on an extended basis.

Consequently the subcommittee has already told the Pentagon and the individual armed services to modernize their procedures in that regard.

With respect to deserters, the subcommittee, in addition to its legislative recommendation, urges a firm and even-handed punishment policy and criticizes a few cases in which returned expatriates were lightly disciplined, even after they had participated in anti-U.S. propaganda efforts.

Some individuals, and at least one group of clergymen, have been reported as urging a sort of general amnesty for servicemen who have sought asylum in Sweden. Many are reported anxious to return and willing to accept some form of punishment in order to do so.

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COINCIDENCE?—The tiny hamlet of Smithville, Tenn., recently received a "Model Cities" grant of $1.4 million from the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Another $1.3 million in HUD funds was earmarked for Smithville's "urban renewal." HUD's solicitude for the people of Smithville just might be due to the fact that a local resident, Rep. Joe L. Evins, heads the House subcommittee that oversees the agency's appropriation in Congress.

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FORTUNE MAGAZINE estimates that 750,000 of the country's 6.7-million college students "now identify with the New Left." The conclusion is based on the results of a special nationwide survey of the views of 718 men and women between the ages of 18 and 24.

Five self-described U.S. Army deserters and others who claim they are avoiding the draft gather outside Notre Dame cathedral in Paris.

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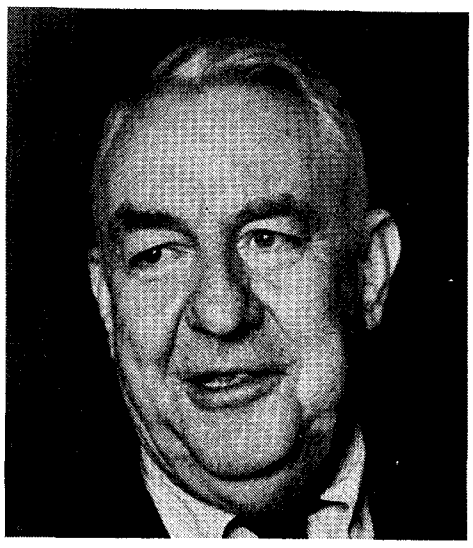
A Few Kind Words for the Filibuster

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

It is filibuster time again in our town—or more accurately, anti-filibuster time. Should Rule 22 be amended? [After this column was written, the Senate made a preliminary vote on this issue—see page 3.]

To prepare themselves for the battle, Senate Druids have been working themselves to a frenzy with ritual dances around the fire. Jacob Javits of New York and Philip Hart of Michigan, high priests of the liberal cult, are invoking the holy name of democracy. George McGovern of South Dakota is thumping the tom-toms of majority rule.

Just beyond this lively circle, the liberal press is whooping things up. Clayton Fritchey, the pundit, denounces the filibuster as "unconstitutional, un-American, and anti-democratic." The Washington *Post* demands that the filibuster be consigned to the grave "along with the divine right of kings and other relics of the undemocratic past."



Sen. Sam Ervin (D.-N.C.), one of Congress' outstanding experts on constitutional law, is a strong advocate of minority rights.

Now, it is doubtful that many Americans give a hoorah about Rule 22. If the people think about filibusters at all, they may think of filibusters in terms of sport—like Indian wrestling or roller-skate derbies. It is a mistake to suppose that the public is outraged when the Senate is "paralyzed" by unending debate; the public clings intuitively to the sound notion that the Senate ought to be paralyzed more often. So long as senators are talking, they're not acting. While a filibuster continues, the Republic survives.

Yet a large principle is involved in Rule 22—a principle that is often obscured. Under Rule 22, debate in the Senate cannot be halted without the consent of two-thirds of the senators present and voting. Opponents of the filibuster say the rule is undemocratic. They would like to be able to stop debate by simple majority vote, but they would settle this time for three-fifths instead of two-thirds.

It may be useful to recur to fundamentals. A long time ago, a Mrs. Powell of Philadelphia asked Benjamin Franklin what the new Constitution would provide. "A republic," replied the doctor, "if you can keep it." Ours is not a democracy; it never has been; and the myth that we are governed by majority rule is just that—a myth.

In every significant area of man's relationship with the state, the doctrine of majority rule is tightly hedged or outlawed altogether. What do the Druids suppose the Bill of Rights is all about? If we lived in a democracy, subject to the rule of the 51 per cent, we could take a vote on which churches, if any, should be allowed. We could vote on continuance of the Washington *Post*.

Among the proponents of shutting off debate are GOP Sen. Jacob Javits (left), Democratic Senators Phil Hart (Mich.) and George McGovern (S.D.).

We could, forsooth, conduct a referendum on me.

No such applications of majority rule are permitted, obviously, because the Constitution prohibits them absolutely. Our criminal juries cannot convict by any rule of 51 per cent. More to the point, major questions in the Congress itself cannot be determined by majority rule: It takes two-thirds to ratify a treaty, two-thirds to override a veto, two-thirds to approve a resolution of constitutional amendment, two-thirds to convict on impeachment. A minority of one-fifth may compel the recording of yeas and nays.

Each of these requirements echoes the great tradition of the American Republic: Minorities must always be protected, right down to the last ditch, from being overwhelmed by the brute force of the 51 per cent. So it is with the filibuster. It is a legislative device by which a determined minority, passionately convinced of its cause, may struggle to win concessions or to prevent action.

True filibusters come along rarely. It would be difficult to prove that a filibuster ever has permanently prevented the enactment of a bill universally thought to be wise. A bill may be delayed by a filibuster, or it may be watered down, but compromise and delay are not necessarily inherent evils. And if two-thirds of the senators are truly determined, they can break a filibuster by cloture whenever they please. Three such debates have been halted in the past six years. It is curious that the liberals, who profess to be so solicitous for minorities, are so determined in this matter to have their own relentless way.

(Copyright 1969, Washington *Star* Syndicate)

Is Chairman Mao in Trouble?

From the Richmond *News Leader*

Several months ago we suggested that contrary to what the self-proclaimed experts on China would have the free world believe, Mao Tse-tung's domination of the Chinese mainland is not final. Several reasons were offered in support of that contention. Now there are more.

Nationalist Chinese intelligence reports out of Taipei continue to tell of widespread unrest on the mainland. More and more anti-Communist guerrilla bands are emerging, some of which are storming Mao-held arsenals to supply themselves with weapons. Among recent anti-Mao, anti-Communist incidents have been the following:

• Students in the northern China city of Tientsin threw three bombs into a dormitory that housed a pro-Mao propaganda team; 20 casualties.

• Four new anti-Communist guerrilla units have sprung up in southern Kwangtung and Kwangsi Provinces. The most intriguing outfit, composed of about 1,000 former Communist cadres, goes by the name of the Anti-Communist National Salvation Troops. The group has holed up in the Lungtou Mountains with a large quantity of stolen military supplies.

• About 2,000 anti-Communist guerrillas attacked a naval depot on the outskirts of Canton, seizing about 1,000 machine guns and other munitions.

• In Tibet's second most populous city, Sigaste, desperately hungry Tibetans stormed the city center and carried away cached food supplies; nearly 100 casualties on both sides.

More than 8,000 Communist cadres and students now are in the area around Hong Kong, seeking opportunities to escape.

If enough such incidents occur, the anti-Communist forces in Red China soon may turn Mao Tse-tung's Great Leap Forward into the Great Leap Toward Liberation. Chiang Kai-shek may yet see his dream of a free Chinese mainland come true.

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How Radicals Use Movies for Propaganda

By JOHN BOLAND

Marshall McLuhan, the director of Toronto University's Center for Culture and Technology, calls this an era where the media of communication has become the message; that in terms of the electronic age, a totally new environment has been created.

Whether or not intentional, radical U.S. filmmakers have seized upon this theory to create a whole new type of cinema operation—designed to supply instant propaganda and—as well—training films advocating guerrilla warfare and social upheaval in our cities.

Jonas Mekas, movie critic for the avant-garde, of New York's Sheridan Square weekly, *Village Voice*, describes the radical new motion picture venture as "the most active new film movement in the country." It goes by the name of "Newsreel" and was organized late in December 1967. The group has already established branches in some of our larger cities, including Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco and Boston.

In New York, Newsreel uses a Canal Station post office box from which it mails lists of available documentary-type movies to universities and colleges, film societies, clubs and interested "peace" and "anti-Viet Nam war" organizations.

Newreel's films are those that are now being widely shown at campus "militant" gatherings, and in classrooms by leftist instructors who need graphic materials to supplement their lectures. A picture, after all, is worth a thousand words.

'Radical News Service'

Newsreel, which calls itself "a radical news service whose purpose is to provide an alternative to the limited and biased coverage offered by the media in the area of filmed news," screened its first finished products during February 1967 in New York "underground" movie houses. It billed itself as "the cooperative effort of many young filmmakers who have been documenting independently whatever they consider relevant news" and, at the same time, "seeking new forms for the presentation of information . . . neglected by a consensus-oriented media." At last count, the group had some 125 films for rental.

While claiming to offer "news" neglected by other media, most of Newsreel's efforts fall into two categories. First, outright Communist propaganda—some made by the Viet Cong's National Liberation Front (NLF); others produced for and exhibited at official Red film festivals. Second, "how to" reels on methods of starting revolutions and conducting guerrilla warfare.

For example, "Cu Chi Guerrilla Village," a black-and-white film made by the NLF with an English soundtrack, is described as the story of "a village only 15 km. from Saigon continually devastated by the Americans because it is a center of guerrilla activity." Part of the film shows "the various methods used by the local population to ambush and harass the Americans." It has been booked for showing at numerous U.S. colleges.

Newsreel's No. 101 offering is called "Nossa Terra" and is described as presenting an "alternative to colonial oppression . . . armed struggle"—in this case as filmed in Portuguese Guinea. The movie was made by four French radicals and has narration in English spoken by Julius Lester.

A pure Newsreel propaganda package, made by the government of North Viet Nam and called "Hanoi's Glorious Victories," purports to show "the effectiveness of Hanoi's air defenses and methods of protecting the civilian population from American bombings." With the rented film comes an English script and cue sheets, but prospective rentees are advised that "knowledge of the Vietnamese language is unnecessary to get the full impact of the film."

Another Newsreel selection which has been screened before numerous college audiences is called "Viet Nam, Land of Fire." Filmed in North and South Viet Nam, its producers describe it in these words: "We see the American invasion and attack on the civilian population. Shows use of napalm, gas and toxic chemicals. Bombing of schools and leprosaria."

One film made by the Free School of New York is called "Dog Burning at Noon" and its purpose, says Newsreel, "grew out of an idea for a demonstration which would play on the American public's sympathies for a cute puppy against the realities of what they do every day to human beings in Viet Nam."

"The Accusation" is a compilation of news footage and stills carefully cut and spliced together, supposedly depicting "American atrocities in Viet Nam." It was specially prepared for presentation as evidence at the Bertrand Russell International War Crimes Tribunal held in Stockholm, where President Lyndon Johnson and other U.S. leaders were damned as "war criminals" in the mold of Adolph Hitler.

An interesting Newsreel offer, simply called "Chicago," should provide investigators with some added tips on whether to blame demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention on "police riots" or on organized guerrilla warfare advocates. It was shot in late March 1968 during a meeting of members of the so-called "Movement" who had arrived in Chicago to "discuss demonstrations against the Democratic party convention," according to Newsreel's September film catalogue.

Intelligence sources have disclosed that numerous Communists and "militants" attended meetings in the Chicago area planning riots at the Democrats' August convention. The Newsreel film, then, documents beyond a doubt the accuracy of police intelligence reports.

A copy of plans to disrupt the convention with guerrilla warfare tactics has also been uncovered by FBI agents. The plan reads in part " . . . seven hundred fifty [persons] could easily block all doors symbolically; also possible provo action: detour Lake Shore Drive traffic into immediate neighborhood with wooden horses, etc., then stop cars with other wooden horses, then saturate with people, then let air out of tires of more and more cars until tanks, etc., in armory can't get out. A few cars sacrificed for most direct blocking of garage doors. Aluminum doors would be bent out of operation. Could NWU [Northwestern University] form a sanctuary? Source of cadre? Lots of fire hydrants for further confusion, first aid for gas attacks. Construction sites would provide barricade material. Apartment houses and hotels provide many blind alleys which connect possible escape through confusion. . . ."

Newsreel's "Chicago" film, shown in advance to participants in the convention week riots, would have provided invaluable pre-riot "training" information to "cadre" in charge of leading the Chicago demonstrations. It shows, for example, how Convention Hall is set up; entrances, exits, possible positions of police guards surrounding the center and other information. Viewers of the film are also shown the geographic layout of areas in other parts of the city where riots were planned by the "Movement."

Another Newsreel film, "Riot-Control Weapons," shows the types of new weapons police "are using in present riot conditions around the country" with an eye on finding ways to counteract the efficiency of those anti-riot weapons.

Still another in the Chicago Newsreel series, called "Chicago Convention Challenge," illustrates how "Movement" activists maneuvered their young followers during street demonstrations. It is not dissimilar from "The Columbia Revolt," described in Newsreel's fall film catalogue as "a complete story of the events of May 1968 at Columbia University."

All of Newsreel's 16mm films include soundtracks and—if shown in foreign countries or behind the Iron Curtain—come with script translations which can be passed out to viewers. Colleges and universities can arrange to pay rental fees from money collected at showings or donated at anti-Viet Nam war gatherings. Others must pay in advance.

Films for Militants, Activists

Some additional selections available from Newsreel include the following army-type training films for "militant" and "activist" viewers:

- "The Boston Draft-Resistance Group," describes how to set up "hell no, we won't go" organizations at community levels and how to go about harassing local draft boards.

- "The Christmas Mill-In" shows tactics of disrupting consumers and department store traffic at peak shopping seasons in order to publicize current goals of "militant" organizations.

- "Garbage Demonstrations" tells how to organize effective "protest" movements using local grievances as a front for demonstrations.

- "San Francisco State Sit-In" shows how students staged a step-by-step takeover of San Francisco State University's administration building last spring.

- "The April Film," a compendium of "twenty important events in the New York area" during the anti-Viet Nam demonstrations of April 1968, describes "disruptive demonstration" tactics and "resistance" "during the long Peace March" following "the [Martin Luther] King assassination."

Two Cuban imports, "Men of the Canefields" and "Now," recipient of accolades at last year's Communist Leipzig Film Festival, are also available on Newsreel's rental list. The first is a Castro-approved propaganda piece showing how Cuba's sugar industry has advanced under the watchful economic eye of the Bearded One. "Now" was made to show viewers in the "emerging nations" of South America how "American imperialists" persecute minority races in the U.S. It has a dubbed-in musical soundtrack by Negro entertainer Lena Horne.

Among Newsreel's collection, two films seem especially directed at "Black Power" advocates. "Black Panther" was made inside convicted "Minister of Defense" Huey P. Newton's prison cell and includes an account—by fellow convict Eldridge Cleaver—of the now famous "shoot out" with Oakland, Calif., police which led to the death of Panther co-founder Bobby Hutton on April 6, 1968.

Newton belongs to the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), a secret black terrorist organization whose leader, Robert Williams, fled to Cuba in 1961 to avoid prosecution on a kidnapping charge. Author of a handbook on guerrilla warfare, Williams—for months before moving to Red China—broadcast messages to his U.S. followers over "Radio Free Dixie." His programs called for armed Negro uprisings and killing of all U.S. policemen.

In Newsreel's filmed interview with Newton, "Minister of Information" Cleaver—himself convicted of rape, possession of narcotics and two counts of assault with attempted murder—labels 17-year-old Bobby Hutton's death as "murder" by Oakland police. The charge was later repeated by movie star Marlon Brando on the Joey Bishop television show. Brando, who attended Hutton's funeral and later made an inflamatory speech to Panther "militants" near Newton's jail, is currently being sued by the Oakland policemen for his statements about them.

The film, "Herman B. Ferguson, Candidate for the U.S. Senate," is described by Newsreel as having been "expressively made for Herman Ferguson, a non-compromise black freedom fighter whose platform on the Freedom and Peace party ticket is black survival and liberation *by any means necessary*."

During recent political campaigns Ferguson received abundant coverage from the Communist party's paper, *The Daily World*, and endorsement by members of the New York Communist Party Central Committee. Ferguson also appeared at an anti-white rally at Harlem's Intermediate School 201—one of the districts hard hit in the most violent demonstrations during recent New York school strikes. The Harlem meeting was held in honor of the late "militant" Muslim leader Malcolm X and Newsreel's Herman Ferguson—out on bail at the time—was waiting trial an charges of plotting to assassinate non-Communist Negro leaders and the late Sen. Robert F. Kennedy.

Investigators learned later that Ferguson, while his case was pending, secured a job with a Ford Foundation-sponsored "anti-poverty" project in New York City.

While all of Newsreel's films are currently being offered for rental only, the group has promised " . . . at some future date we will be prepared to make many different kinds of arrangements."

These radical young filmmaker-distributors are now looking forward to possible subsidy grants for financing production and distribution of their future wares and thus clear the way for free dissemination of productions in the making. Grants could be awarded through special governmental "educational" funds set up for "advancing the arts" or they could originate from tax-free foundation coffers—like those of the Rockefeller or Ford Foundations—from which the latter has been playing the part of financial "angel" for a number of recent Washington, D.C., stage productions concerning "black-white relationships."

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Continued from Page 8

Behind San Francisco State Demonstrations

This was one of the more subdued scenes at San Francisco State College as striking teachers march. The school has been beset with on-and-off violence for several weeks.

As an English senior at SF State he qualified for a job as an OEO Tutorial Program instructor. "I go to black high school students. I organize them, as my part in the Tutorial Program," Garrett claimed.

Some weeks ago Dr. Hayakawa said that there were perhaps 200 dissident faculty members among the 1,100 about whom he said, "I'm waiting for them to make the first move."

They have since made their move. Capitalizing on the student strike, SF State's maverick faculty union, an American Federation of Teachers local, is, according to Hayakawa, now "hitch-hiking" on the back of the violence-ridden campus conflict "for a vicious power grab."

Although only comprising about one-fourth of the faculty members, the AFT received a strike sanction from San Francisco's Central Labor Council and defied a court injunction restraining them from striking. They have become the first faculty union to go on strike in California, a state which constitutionally forbids municipal employes to strike, and one of the first in the nation.

Confusion, if not chaos, has resulted from the AFT's setting up picket lines, in conjunction with militant students. As many as 2,000 people at a time have attempted to block campus entrances and buildings, only to have been dispersed by police in what has become a daily routine of riot sticks and bricks.

Three campus faculty organizations, angered by AFT's tacking union grievances onto minority student demands, have called upon the AFL-CIO labor councils to withdraw their strike sanction. They have described the AFT strike as "a cynical attempt to hitch faculty bread-and-butter issues onto the problems of minority groups." A union tug-of-war is building.

Gov. Reagan has fired his strongest salvos to date at the situation at SF State.

Regarding striking teachers, he said he is moving to enforce a provision of the State Education Code under which a teacher who is absent from the classroom for five days without authorization is automatically considered as having resigned from the faculty. He also warns that striking teachers will have docked from their wages time spent on the picket line instead of in class.

Predicting more violence on campuses, Reagan said, "There is an element in the land aiming at insurrection, that preaches violent takeover and violent destruction of the status quo, the Establishment, or whatever you want to call it. I believe that law and order . . . requires that society today take its stand against the barbaric force and make it plain that society will stand firm on this line."

The entrance of the defiant AFT faculty members into this campus battle is causing a tense situation to develop in the AFL-CIO ranks. San Francisco is a strong labor town, and its mayor receives much of his support from labor sources. But while the militant unions like Harry Bridges' ILWU are giving full support to the AFT, other unions are ignoring the picket lines.

Dr. Hayakawa's view of the striking teachers is that they are providing one way of weeding out trouble-makers. He said, "I understand that many unions have refused to honor the picket line and I am told that all sorts of angry citizens and union men and women are letting the labor council know their feelings on the recently voted strike sanctions. It will be interesting to see how organized labor solves this tough problem. . . . Simply, the striking faculty will soon eliminate themselves [referring to the implementation of the state law regarding teacher absences] and at least one of our problems will be solved."

Whereas Hayakawa seems particularly competent in dealing with campus student rebels, the movement of radical teachers into the fracas may be more complicated to deal with.

Already some department heads have refused to report to Dr. Hayakawa which teachers have missed classes. SF State's AFT president, Gary Hawkins, has said that the carrying out of firings would "clearly spell the end of SF State College." Marching along with striking teachers has been David Selden, national president of AFT, who urges teachers to go on striking and picketing.

There is now a threatened walk-out of teachers at all 16 state colleges and public schools neighboring them if any attempt is made to fire SF State instructors. A combined strike by all AFT members in the state would put 12,000 teachers out of their classrooms.

On the other side of the battle line, the California Teachers Association has denounced the strike as a "raw power grab" to bolster AFT's membership rolls.

The ambiguity of teachers striking at SF State in support of the ridiculous demands of militant minority groups, while in New York City the battle continues to rage between teachers' unions and black education objectives, is likely to continue to cause a breakdown in union ranks.

Also at issue is the monumental problem of the right of municipal employes to strike. While San Francisco union officials gather in frantic emergency sessions trying to decide how to resolve the growing problem, the state attorney general's office is arguing that public employes, state college professors included, do not have the right to strike in California and the controversy now is in the hands of the courts.

Although national leaders of the AFL-CIO profess to be anti-Communist they seem to have either ignored or are ill-informed as to the source of planned campus destruction.

Whether they be Maoist-oriented black militants, "Socialist" college professors or off-campus fellow-travelers, these demonstrators should be regarded as just as great a threat to organized labor as they are to higher education. The Communist press in San Francisco has reported from their perspective that the strike is against "racism on the San Francisco State campus." This is the latest watchword of the left and the AFT's support of Black Student Union demands is a departure from union grievances that should set AFL-CIO officials to thinking.

To the average citizen monitoring the daily revolt at SF State the combat appears to have all the familiar trappings seen at Berkeley, Columbia and a growing number of colleges across the country.

But in each instance the legitimate grievances of idealistic students, when they exist, serve only as a "cover" for radical power plays by sophisticated agitators and professors who have been covertly maneuvering student dissidents and building a climate of "justifiable revolution." This is the case at SF State where the facade is demands for "black education."

But Panther Murray points out the real direction of the student revolution. As he told a campus mob, "This is a struggle to seize power. People who are active in the struggle will seize the campus."

The importance of this struggle for "black power" on the State campus is indicated by some of the adult off-campus black leaders who, along with militant students, have invaded the campus to see that the Black Student Union demands are met.

In addition to the outspoken Rev. Williams, in the forefront of the entire

(Continued on page 14)

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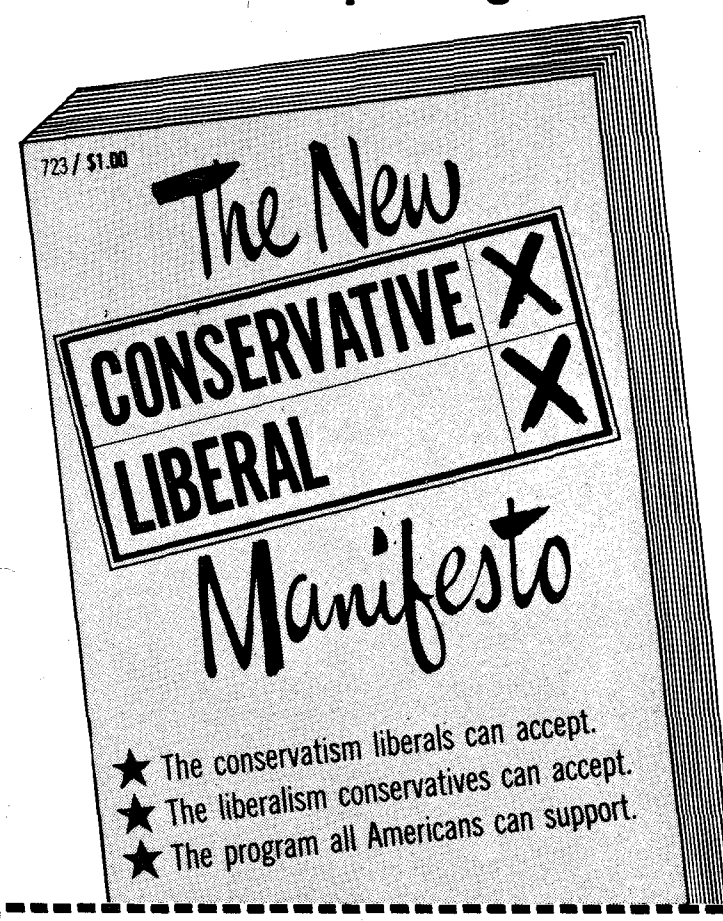

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(Continued from preceding page)

conflict has been Dr. Carleton Goodlett, who has goaded students with an amplifier and mounted the ramparts for which he has been arrested. This militantly popular black physician and publisher of a San Francisco newspaper called for an immediate halt to the daily use of police by Dr. Hayakawa to keep the campus open.

Goodlett has been quoted as saying, "If police continue to beat people unmercifully, we'll be forced to go to the Negro community and we will bring guns on campus to protect ourselves."

Dr. Goodlett, a former faculty member of a now defunct Communist-front labor school in San Francisco, chose Huey Newton's attorney, one-time Communist Charles Garry, to represent him in a dispute with the British government over their deporting him from England for his alleged transaction with the World Council of Peace, which the British had described as a Communist front.

A phalanx of angry blacks moving onto the State campus were pictured in San Fancisco's Communist newspaper *People's World* putting their "bodies on the line for the striking students. . . ." Goodlett is pictured with off-campus coordinator of the Black Student's Union, LeRoy Goodwin. Goodwin was quoted by the underground press as saying, "After three years of negotiations, we hereby announce an official declaration of war. Under this state of war, all ad hoc rules and regulations set up by the acting president Hayakawa to hamper freedom of speech and freedom of assembly will be disregarded, and the battleground, tactics and time sequence will be determined by the central committee of our revolutionary people."

In a statement of utter honesty, denying he was after Dr. Hayakawa's job, Dr. Goodlett said, "It would be impossible for a militant man of my radical background to work under a college board of trustees dominated by Ronald Reagan and Max Rafferty."

Coming as no surprise to intelligence agencies who have kept a watchful eye on the revolutionaries involved in the attempt to close San Francisco State College was the announcement by Black Panther Chairman Bobby Seale that "there is no division between the Black Panther party and the Black Students Union—how could there be when George Murray is on the central committees of both?"

Stating that the Panthers support the students and teachers on strike at San Francisco State College, Seale confirmed that "they now are a political force to change the system."

A recent issue of the Black Panther newspaper indicated that the national headquarters of the Black Panther party in Berkeley, Calif., shares its office with the national headquarters of the Black Student Union. Therefore, any negotiation, as recommended by city, labor or campus officials, is a clear case of doing business with an organization intent on destroying not only the American system of education, but the entire country as well.

Caught in what appears to be a political meat grinder, San Francisco's Mayor Joseph Alioto, while giving full cooperation to Dr. Hayakawa's efforts to keep the campus open, has set up a Citizens Committee of Concern, which, according to *People's World*, was "studded with big names" and "the prestige of this committee was supposed to facilitate bringing the parties together for talks."

How this was supposed to represent the interests of the community and students in general is hard to understand, considering the make-up of the mayor's committee, which hardly included any members likely to align themselves with Hayakawa's get-tough policy.

In fact, a couple of members have, like Goodlett, indicated strong sympathies with Soviet goals and one, Episcopal Bishop C. Kilmer Myers, has been a long-time friend of Saul Alinsky, who might be described as the patron saint of student revolt methodology.

Although honored as "the foremost Japanese liberal in the country," Dr. Hayakawa has been mauled by students, assaulted with rocks, and race-baited with shouts of "Nip," "Jap" and "Tojo." Yet he remains adamant that the campus will be kept operating.

He has stated that he has received a number of reports that militant members of the student left, including at least one revolutionary from Paris, were coming to San Francisco to fan the flames of rebellion at the college. Militant black high school students have been recruited to "put their bodies on the line" and a number of colleges around the bay have sent their own combat contingents.

"There is an all-out attempt on the part of outside radicals," Hayakawa was quoted as saying. "It is the hope of these outsiders to close down [the college], because if they manage to close this one, they can close an awful lot more. Perhaps I'm working on the same theory from the other side in trying to keep the college open. If we can win this one, we can win an awful lot more, too, and protect an awful lot of American higher education."

Today, a brilliant scholar of a genuine liberal persuasion, his tam 'o shanter tilted at a jaunty angle, he has confronted this country's growing gang of campus revolutionaries.

He has personally mounted the speaker's platform of an illegal campus rally and ripped the wires from the bootleg amplifier despite taunts and angry threats. He has repeatedly offered to meet with the rebel forces, but refuses to discuss the issues while they pursue their program of intimidation and fear.

Amid burned-out executive offices, smashed classrooms, and the general debris and fallout of an ongoing campus war, Dr. Hayakawa has faced the moment of truth lesser educators and administrators have been side-stepping for five years. He is demonstrating through deed, as well as word, just what the taxpaying citizen expects of its college and university authorities.

Gov. Reagan accurately expresses the rapidly escalating public reaction to "student demands": " . . . the very idea of demands, the idea of sitting down and bargaining or negotiating student demands, is intolerable in education."

Dr. S.I. Hayakawa's stance in today's battle of student "confrontation politics" must serve as the example by which our nation's educators meet the threat of campus destruction. He has demanded that the 18,000 men and women attending San Francisco State College for the purpose of getting an education be protected from violence and in doing so is fulfilling his obligation to the citizens who pay the bills.

"My responsibility is a big one, not only for the state college, but for the whole system of higher education in America," the fiery little professor says. And he may just be the man who will turn the tide.

Life in Our Village

By MORRIE RYSKIND

A Los Angeles undergrad sends me a piece by a liberal columnist, the thrust of which is that there aren't enough "trouble-makers" in our high schools and colleges. Today's student, mourns the writer, "lives in a moral and intellectual void, trying to get decent grades and then a satisfactory job."

To this piercing blow against bourgeois morality, my correspondent adds his own coup de grace: "This cat tells it like it is, but how would you know? You live in the millionaire suburb of Beverly Hills, a village insulated from the real world, and are so thrilled by the vicarious glory of kneeling to movie stars, retired military men and other stuffed shirts of your feudal aristocracy that you see no evil in your moribund society and the rat-race it has produced. It is presumptuous for a lackey like you to deride the young rebels of the New Left who are seriously involved in building a better world."

I bow to my critic's eloquence, if not his judgment. I concede that Beverly Hills youngsters aim for good grades and satisfactory jobs—so what? Good grades imply you got something out of your courses, and the desire for a satisfactory job hardly constitutes a "moral and intellectual void." Few things in life, I suggest, are more rewarding than enthusiasm for one's job. I thought "doing your thing"—and doing it well—was approved even in Haight-Ashbury.

And I fear the young rebel is talking through his beret in his picture of Beverly Hills. It is a village, true enough, but we get the Los Angeles papers and most of us have television sets and radios, too.

We are not made up exclusively of millionaires, any more than Pasadena is inhabited only by little old ladies in tennis shoes. We have our rich and our famous, to be sure, but we don't kneel to them. We may wave at Groucho Marx riding his bike, at Raymond Massey walking his dog, but we also wave at our barber, our haberdasher and our newsboy (who is often the scion of a well-to-do family).

We take a keen interest in our public schools, elementary and high, for most of our children attend them. And neither money nor status matters when it comes to our PTA and our Board of Education elections. Our city councilmen—and there's always keen competition for the posts—serve without pay. Our city treasurer does better, however, since he gets $1 a year.

It happens that this year marked the retirement of four civil servants. The first, a beloved school administrator, was honored at an evening function in which a packed banquet room was filled with grateful parents as well as the teachers who had worked with him. And all paid sincere tribute to a man who had derived enormous satisfaction from his job and had filled it far more than satisfactorily.

And just last week there was a luncheon for three other village employes ending public careers they had served with distinction. One was our fire chief, who had started in the ranks in 1925 and worked his way up. Last year our total fire damage was only $300,000—surely a record for a town with property values so high.

Our chief of police, who had begun as a cop walking his beat in 1929, was the second honoree. If we have a small crime record, we know he is the man we owe that happy fact to.

And third was the lady who had been our librarian since 1950. We have a spanking new library now, thanks to her indefatigable efforts.

Some 1,100 of us turned out to do the trio honor—an amazing luncheon attendance for a small town. And every conceivable organization was represented, from church groups to the DAR, from trade associations to our Lawn Bowling Club.

The place was knee-deep in celebrities. The luck of the draw put me at a table with an admiral and a general—the latter a former Beverly Hills mayor; and the adjoining table was filled with a group of nationally known songsmiths.

But the only celebrities who received notice were the firemen, the cop and the librarian. The status, the tributes and the affection were all theirs.

I wish for the young rebel that he may yet find a job half as useful as those the honorees found; and that, when he retires, he'll be missed half as much. I doubt the New Left has more to offer.

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Schlesinger's Myopia

By SEN. PAUL FANNIN (R.-Ariz.)

I am ashamed—sometimes deeply ashamed—for the public utterances of some of my very learned colleagues who consistently discriminate against those who do not embrace change for change's sake alone; who want to make sure that a different course will be a better course; who live by the idea to keep the best of the old and make the most of the new.

These are the dictums to which I ascribe—yet if I were to take seriously the address by self-designated historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr., as he took part in the recent series of "Landon Lectures on Public Issues" at Kansas State University, I should find myself, as a conservative, classed variously as:

> A poor and uneducated white tending to be the most emotional and primitive champion of conservatism.
>
> An underprivileged white who has become a steadfast defender of the status quo.

As a Republican conservative, Mr. Schlesinger describes "my" minority as "constitutionally devoid of intelligence and initiative."

On the other hand, the good professor is a bit more generous with "his" minority. He admits that intellectuals—into which class he arrogates himself—"wield a political influence out of all proportion to the votes they cast." He says "the affluent and better educated tend to care more about rationality, reform and progress."

In contrast to the Republican presidential effort, which Mr. Schlesinger describes as "intellectually empty," he sees a new day dawning in which the Democrats will move forward "as a truly national party, embracing the poor as well as the rich, the black as well as the white, the young as well as the old, the uneducated as well as the educated in a common fight for a just and liberal America."

Very stirring words. But what about "conservatives" in Dr. Schlesinger's "liberal" America? Why this myopic concern for one minority at the expense of another?

Castro's Cuban 'Paradise'

By REP. JOHN BUCHANAN (R.-Ala.)

Castro exhorts the Cuban people to ever greater sacrifices at home while continuing to call for "one, two, three and many more Viet Nams" in Latin America. He publicly defended the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and has attempted to foment revolution in many neighboring nations, including Venezuela, Bolivia, Nicaragua, Colombia and Guatemala. He failed in the first four countries, especially in Bolivia where his longtime associate, Che Guevara, died ignominiously. In one sense, as the Wall Street Journal *declared, "it is a comfort that Castro's Cuba has not successfully served as a beachhead for subverting the Western Hemisphere." But in another sense, we cannot take comfort so long as nearly eight million Cubans are living under tyranny and so long as Castro persists in his plans to bring his kind of "paradise" to the rest of Latin America. We must therefore examine every possible alternative within the structure of the Organization of American States and in cooperation with responsible Cuban exile groups to replace tyranny with freedom and restore hope and happiness to a once-joyful and prosperous land.*

'American Ideal' Threatened

By REP. JOHN HUNT (R.-N.J.)

The academic upheaval of our college and university campuses over the last half of the present decade has no precedent in the 193-year history of our Republic.

The perpetrators of this "revolution" justify their ill-defined cause in the name of academic and intellectual freedom and claim in their defense the cherished freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution. When cited as the framework within which our society conducts its affairs, however, these same individuals deride the Constitution as an outmoded document conceived in an age whose principles defy application to present-day life.

As the times change, the pendulum swings, and I feel the emergence of a new awareness of and rededication to the American ideal from among the masses. As recalcitrant minorities encroach upon the rights of society taken as a whole, the dangers inherent in the unrestricted abuse of our constitutionally guaranteed freedoms must not be allowed to prevail.

A recent news article caught my attention in the use of the phrase "moral pollution," a phrase one might more readily associate with the spiritual preachings from the pulpit. It was found, however, to be applied to the conduct of faculty and paid speakers at one of our large Midwestern universities. Even more interesting is the fact that it was the result of a grand jury investigation which claimed, "There is a need for increased emphasis at all levels of education of the American ideal."

It is strange, indeed, that academic freedom has been allowed to justify the conduct of those who would pollute and corrupt the minds of our young citizens; that "militant activists" and "student radicals" be permitted the "freedom to infringe upon the ambitions of those who responsibly seek an education imbued with the spirit of our American heritage and love of God and country. I am heartened in some quarters that there are those among the educational administrators who are dealing forthrightly with these alien and destructive forces at the behest of an aroused public which sees the survival of a free society at stake.

The American ideal, embodied in the spirit and words of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, is being constantly challenged. Our educational institutions must teach and enhance it rather than fall to the hands of those who would subvert and destroy it.

Planes to Israel

By REP. DAN KUYKENDALL (R.-Tenn.)

Once again we are threatened with war in the Middle East. The best guarantee of keeping the peace in that area is to maintain the balance of power. The surest way to increase hostilities and pave the way for the resumption of a hot war is to give a decided military advantage to one side or the other. The action by French President de Gaulle in stopping the sale of planes to Israel and his negotiations with the Arabs with the view of supplying them planes and arms, is a serious threat to peace. The only way we can bring about a return to the status quo is by furnishing Israel the necessary planes it needs to restore the balance of power. It is up to the United States to fill the void created by the action of France and see to it that Israel has the necessary means to defend its borders. The situation has been worsened by indications that the Soviet Union is accelerating its shipment of arms to the Arab nations and making no effort to curtail them.

Congressional Pay Hike

By REP. BARBER CONABLE (R.-N.Y.)

I feel that congressional salary increases should be prospective: a new schedule should take effect with the next Congress, rather than immediately. But these philosophical objections are modest compared to the mistakes of timing and the economics involved.

The government has been urging private employers to hold wage increases to strict guidelines, and the President has objected whenever new pay contracts have gone beyond a figure in the vicinity of 6 per cent. Congress has forced a $6-billion cutback in the President's rate of spending; how inconsistent can we be if we now raise the ceiling salary figures for the whole government by such large amounts? No one can question the inflationary impact of a major upward adjustment of the government salary schedules.

For this is the key to the whole business: the pressure for this salary increase is not coming from people who want to be nice to congressmen. If congressional salaries go up, the three million people in the executive branch figure they will quickly be in line for a major upward adjustment of their salary schedules to fill the vacuum under the new ceiling. The cost of running Congress is a tiny part of the total federal budget: annually it amounts to about one-half the cost of sending up one Saturn V rocket. But when you consider that congressional salaries are the ceiling pay for federal employment, the potential ultimate cost of this gambit is staggering.

Strengthen Viet Position

By SEN. STROM THURMOND (R.-S.C.)

If we are to leave behind a strong and energetic South Vietnamese government that is able to survive, we should use the bargaining table to strengthen Saigon's position. Saigon's bargaining adversary should be Hanoi, not the Viet Cong. If a political role is assigned to the National Liberation Front, then a similar role, with guarantees, should be opened for anti-Communists in the north. If amnesties for the Viet Cong are declared in the south, then amnesties for anti-Communists should be declared in the north. Communist rule in the north was applied by force, and the north will not give up its attempted subversion of the Saigon government as long as communism is allowed to operate in the south. If such negotiations are restricted to sharply defined issues, under effective international controls, and with the threat of continued military pressure, then the Communists will be deterred from further international adventures.

Crime Capital

By REP. PAUL ROGERS (D.-Fla.)

Crime in Washington during the first two weeks of 1969 has doubled and tripled the 1968 rate in certain categories.

The police have already recorded the 200th armed robbery this year, indicating a rate in excess of 20 per day, compared to 12.7 a day in 1968.

There were eight bank holdups in the first 11 days of the year, three times the rate for last year.

With 11 murders in Washington in the first 11 days of the new year, it can be seen that all levels of crime are out of control in this city.

The Washington *Post* calls the situation a "crime crisis." This is exactly what concerned congressmen have been trying to point out for months.

Last year I placed in the *Congressional Record* various reports on sentencing by Washington's judges. At that time it was noted that minimum sentences and reduced charges had the effect of releasing criminals within short periods of time to commit additional crimes.

In a sharp attack on Washington courts, Federal Judge Oren Lewis in Alexandria, Va., said, in sentencing a bank robber recently, that the record of the accused in Washington courts indicates "they seem to put you on probation regardless of how many offenses you have."

Some changes in existing law are required, particularly in regard to bail bond procedures. But action can and must be taken now by the courts of this city to see that criminals are given sentences sufficient to turn the tide. Repeaters must be dealt with firmly. Justice must be swift.

Murder and rape are so commonplace in Washington they are reported on the inside pages of the newspapers. Armed robberies are so common they are reported as a group. And there is no mention at all of the hundreds of thousands of law-abiding people who can no longer venture out of their double-locked doors at night—and in some sections even in the daytime. If they are not robbed as they walk along the street, they may return home to find their house has been burglarized while they were away.

Crime statistics indicate only the cold facts of the increase. Personal hardships, losses, and fear tell the real story of crime in Washington and indicate the "crime crisis" and its effect on the city's people.

The people of this city need relief. The people of the country demand that their capital be made safe. The judges, the prosecutors, the probation authorities, and the responsible officials in the city government must act.

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WHY DO THEY HATE THE SOUTH?

THE SOUTH WAS BIG in the news last year. Alabama's George Wallace socked it to them – Democrats and Republicans alike – driving the Liberal "pseudo-intellectuals" (and also many conservatives) to simultaneous emotions of fear, anger and consternation. Nixon courted the South too, with Strom Thurmond waving his banners below the Mason-Dixon line and Spiro Agnew his choice for running mate. Only the Democrat candidate shunned the South – as if to say, "When you've seen one Southerner, you've seen them all." And through it all: a barrage of Liberal sneers, innuendoes and invective aimed not so much at the Southeners in the news or even their ideas *as at their very Southernness.*

Why? Why do they hate the South? Does George Wallace represent the South? Or the New Breed of Southern Republicans? Or the new Negro voters in the South? Indeed, do *any* of them, alone, represent the South and its traditions? Just what *is* the Southern tradition?

Few persons could answer the last question better than Richard M. Weaver. When he died in 1963, after nearly two decades of teaching at the University of Chicago, Weaver had earned the respect of philosophical friends and foes alike. He stood tall as one of the great conservative thinkers of our time. Among his personal papers at the time of his death was this manuscript, completed in 1943 at the age of 33. Though it mysteriously remained unpublished and indeed undiscovered until now, it was the watershed in Weaver's intellectual development. As Donald Davidson writes in his important Foreword, *The Southern Tradition At Bay* "marks the turning point of his career – the moment when he renounced the facile radicalism of the Roosevelt period for something more truly radical – the kind of 'radicalism' that the current term 'conservative' does not always suggest"; a radicalism, that is, based on first principles rather than on the intellectual fads of the moment. And, Davidson adds, *"The Southern Tradition At Bay* can be considered a groundwork for *Ideas Have Consequences* and much of Weaver's subsequent work."

The Southern Tradition At Bay was written, according to the author, after three years of reading "the history and literature of the Civil War, with special attention to that of the losing side."

The Southern Tradition At Bay

A History of Postbellum Thought
by Richard M. Weaver

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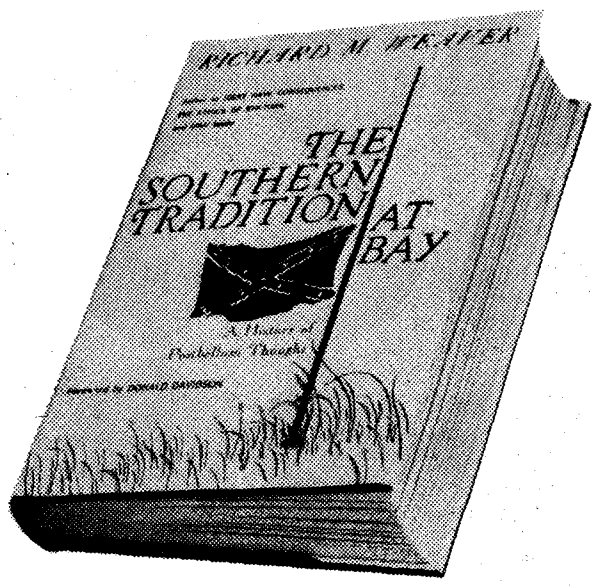

One of the most gifted conservative writers of our century, himself a native of the South, answers Southern critics in this penetrating and sympathetic portrait of "the last non-materialist civilization in the Western world."

But, Davidson notes, it "is in the end about a good deal more than the South or the Southern tradition or the hundred or more writers, speakers, generals, politicians, nurses, diarists whom Weaver examines in his study of the half-century after Appomattox. As in indirect fire by artillery, his 'aiming point' is indeed the South, but the 'target,' just over the hump, is the modern regime, both North and South, that has emerged in the mid-twentieth century and brought the Republic of the United States of America into its time of troubles."

Is the real South dead? Or rising? As critical as he can be of aspects of the Southern tradition, Weaver concludes that "the world is seeking as perhaps never before for the thing that will lift up our hearts and restore our faith in human communities." To that yearning the South offers a challenge, "and the challenge is to save the human spirit by re-creating a non-materialist society. Only this can rescue us from a future of nihilism, urged on by the demoniacal force of technology and by our own moral defeatism."

We are proud to offer the final work of a great conservative. Gracefully written, searching and provocative, it has a message for our country today – and a relevance Richard Weaver himself could hardly have guessed.

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